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ROADS TO THE CITY OF GOD

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A WORLD OUTLOOK FROM JERUSALEM

BY

BASIL MATHEWS

AUTHOR OF "THE CLASH OF COLOR" AND "THE BOOK OF MISSIONARY HEROES."

WITH A FOREWORD BY

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GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

DOUBLEDAY, DORAN & COMPANY, INC.

1928

BV 2390
.I67M3

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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FOREWORD

By Dr. John R. Mott

The recent enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council on the Mount of Olives blended the leadership of the Christian forces related to the world mission of Christianity in some fifty different countries and was an occasion of world-wide significance.

It was a most courageous assembly. When in the history of the Church has a body of workers faced such a combination of difficult and baffling situations—social, economic, racial, international, religious—or been called upon to meet so many stern and exacting challenges? This they did without flinching or evasion. While the participants never descended from the high altitude of idealism and far-ranging vision, they kept their feet solidly on the ground and the note of reality characterized all the discussions and official actions.

The Jerusalem Meeting was indeed a challenging one. This is evident from the questions which commanded chief attention: How may religious education, dealing as it does with the two subjects of widest and most fundamental concern—religion and education—be lifted into the proper place of central prominence, and this in time to meet the grave perils resulting from the rapid spread of purely secular systems of government education? What manifestation of the Christian life and what presentation of the Christian message is demanded in these days in the light of non-Christian systems of thought and faith? How afford to the present generation of youth a fresh, convincing, and satisfying apologetic? How liberate a vastly greater lay force and relate it effectively to the great task of developing a dependable base for the world-wide mission and for the Christianization of the impact of the so-called Christian nations upon

the non-Christian world? How secure and safeguard genuine religious liberty in the light of recent developments in different parts of the non-Christian world? How may the Christian Church get at the heart of the solution of the most alarming problem of to-day, that of securing right race relationships? Again, how insure that, as modern industry spreads over Asia and Africa, the grave evils and perils which have been so manifest in Europe and America may be averted? How may wisest direction be given to the movement toward closer international coöperation and unity? All these and other vital issues were dealt with in a highly constructive manner.

This Council meeting was also most coöperative. Just as the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 gave a great impulse to the cause of unity, so it is believed that Jerusalem will advance by a generation the drawing together of the Christians of different lands and races. It constituted the first meeting ever held in which the churches of Europe, North America, and Australasia which send out missionaries were represented in approximately the same numbers as the churches of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which were planted by missionaries. At Edinburgh, as recently as 1910, only one in fifty of the company were representatives of the indigenous churches in mission lands. In some respects the most distinctive characteristic of Jerusalem might be expressed in the word "sharing," by which is meant that in the fellowship experienced in Jerusalem the Christian workers of the East and West shared their visions, insight, experience, burdens, hopes, and purposes. Moreover, a wider synthesis was achieved, a synthesis in which the individualistic and social conceptions of the Gospel of Christ are recognized as integral, mutually supporting, and indispensable aspects of Christ's all-inclusive mission; a synthesis in which many of the so-called secular organizations, movements, and forces, as well as those which bear the Christian name, are made tributary to the realization of the divine purpose, because we come to see more deeply and comprehensively that "all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's."

The addresses, debates, and decisions were ever forward-look-

ing. Without doubt, if Christians throughout the world act upon the message and the program, twenty years hence men of discernment will be able to say that the Jerusalem Meeting marked nothing short of the beginning of a new epoch in the evolution and expansion of the world-wide Christian movement. If one were to sum up in a word the outstanding contribution of this notable and truly creative meeting on Olivet, it would be that there a thoroughly representative body of men and women, who command to a unique degree the confidence of the Christians the world over, found it possible to arrive at a common understanding and to reach unanimous conclusions with reference to a policy for the world-wide Christian mission. They were able so to re-think and re-state the message and the program as to make possible a clear direction for the Christian missionary enterprise in the momentous period that lies just ahead. The tremendous significance and value of this great result is apparent when we contrast with it the confusion of thought, the divided counsels, the conflicting voices, and the working at cross-purposes, with resultant uncertainty, lack of sense of mission and of sacrificial devotion, and comparatively meager results of recent years.

The Jerusalem Meeting fortunately has as its interpreter Basil Mathews, who is so widely and helpfully known from his dynamic books, *The Clash of Color* and *Fellowship in Thought and Prayer,* and also from his able editorship of the periodicals, *Outward Bound* and *The World's Youth.* He has brought to the new task the rich background, the habits of mind, the sympathetic attitude, the power of prophecy, and the gift of expression which have characterized all his other work.

None who desire to be in touch with the significant trends in the life of the world to-day, and who are ambitious to help discover and follow the path which will most surely usher in the Kingdom of God on earth, can neglect to read and ponder this altogether fresh and stimulating interpretation of an event destined to be regarded as historic in its significance and increasingly creative in its possibilities.

Chapter I

FROM JERUSALEM TO JERUSALEM

I

On the ridge of the Mount of Olives in brilliant Spring sunshine men and women of fifty nations, chosen from the leadership of the Christian community in every continent under heaven, came together through Passiontide 1928. They came by roads that lead up from the ends of the earth to the Holy City to face frankly and together the final challenging issue in the world to-day—the question of the adequacy of the Christian Message to transform and save man in face of his sin-tormented life everywhere, and especially in face of the world-conquering tides of material civilization and the resultant maelstrom of industrial and rural revolution and inter-racial conflict.

The imagination, quickened by the influences of the place, the hour, and the personalities of these men and women, falters and desperately fails in striving to soar to a height of contemplation from which the wonder of the event, first as a fact and then in its possibilities, may be gathered in one comprehensive vision; a vision, first down the long roads of history leading through the centuries up to this hour and place; then across the contemporary world-wide crisis of the human scene in its unique experience of upheaval and of problem confronting, each in his own land, these men and women of every race; lastly into the unsearchable riches and power of the One who drew us all to that place, the Man who, having prayed in agony on the slopes of this Mount, staggered under a Cross up the streets of that City whose name has become, through His life and death and

resurrection there, the very symbol of the Kingdom of God on earth,—the new Jerusalem.

Here, then, is the world standing in desperate need at a supreme hour in the historic process. Here are the City and the Mount once visited by the Son of God in Whom that need can be met. Here in that place is a group of men and women from many nations, members of His Body, disciples to whom He has definitely committed the charge of giving to the world in life and word the Good News that heralds the Kingdom of God. Those disciples have come to Jerusalem along the world's highways, not of their own initiative and volition nor on any minor errand, but under the compelling influence of the poignant, the well-nigh tragic demand of the Christian community in every part of the world for a new, decisive, authentic lead from God for the adventure of to-day and to-morrow.

The conviction grows that it is inconceivable that God could by such clear compulsion have called such a body of folk from such a background to face world-need in such a day unless He had it in His will to do creative work and to initiate a new day of advance for His Kingdom. The event sustains that conviction, strengthening it into certainty.

In the fortnight on the Mount of Olives God did give to that fellowship a clear, decisive, ringing mandate, rooted in reality, and vibrating and real for the new generation; the broad strong lines of a unified world-outlook, as well as the defined elements of an expanding, practical program adventuring into new and even perilous continents of thought and action. We came up by roads leading from fifty nations to Jerusalem; He showed us new roads leading out into unexplored continents of aspiration and achievement.

How that fresh world outlook and that sense of message and mandate from God were given, it is the impossible task of this book to share with the fellowship of kindred minds across the world. How impossible is that task of interpretation will be obvious to any one who has attempted to convey in written word the realities of any corporate spiritual experience however

simple; and yet, here we have the corporate spiritual experience of a world fellowship facing a situation of indescribable complexity covering the major movements of civilization and of thought in the world, a world fellowship seeking and receiving guidance on the profoundest issues of life. The work of interpreting the experience must, however, be essayed. For it is of vital importance to the world mission of our Christianity, as it confronts the terrible powers that are aligned against it, that each element of vision and leading that God gives for this new day should be shared to the maximum of our powers for the inspiration and the leading of us all.

II

The business that occupies the lives of those 240 members of the enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council and that has brought into being the twenty-six national and international Christian and missionary councils which they represent, the business that drew those men and women across continents and oceans to this place was initiated in this city nineteen hundred years ago. It started with a group of men and women led by twelve Galileans, who were told "beginning from Jerusalem" to "go into all the world and make disciples of all nations." It took fresh impetus and a world-embracing mission from the leadership of the Pharisee who, on the slope facing us, consented to the stoning of Stephen and then went up northward till he "met his Master face to face, just at the next white corner of the road" to Damascus; and brought into being the first churches in the mission field whose will to be free from the swaddling-clothes of Judaism in the Church at the "home-base," Jerusalem, made the Council of A. D. 50 necessary. That Council discussed subjects curiously parallel to two central to our Council meeting of 1928, A. D., namely the relation of the older and the younger churches and the inter-racial problem.*

* See Acts XV.

The whole story from Jerusalem to Jerusalem passed before the Council as it contemplated the story of "The Historic Christian Fellowship" in a spacious address by Bishop Temple. The story began in that marvellous early expansion through which Paul and his fellow workers captured city after city of the Roman Empire; and the tragedy of the fact that the Hebrew people turned aside from the Message so that Christianity became—as otherwise never need have been the case—a Western and European faith. Then followed the expansion into North Africa and later northern Europe. The rise of Islam followed, which might never have come if the Christians had stayed true to their missionary origins, but which destroyed almost all the African churches and laid a mighty barrier across the roads which Christianity might have traveled. The break of the Church as between East and West carried its tragic consequences of disunity; as did the cleavage at the Reformation between North and South. Yet always growth and expansion followed stagnation and decadence. So the modern era of the Christian expansion began with the missionary enterprise of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the nineteenth century two streams, the one of the secular expansion of Western civilization and domination over the other races of the world and the other that of the missionary expansion of the Christian Church among these same races have gone on in parallel but separate channels.

Conscious at last in the early years of the twentieth century of their own magnitude and of the common problems that faced their separate and independent parts, the missionary forces began to draw together. Out of that process grew the World Missionary Conference of "Edinburgh 1910."

Never before Edinburgh had so representative a gathering assembled after so thorough and scientific a preparation to face together the problems involved in the world-wide expansion of Christianity. Eight commissions working for some two years before the Edinburgh Conference laid the first foundations of a scientific world-wide international study of missionary ques-

tions. The death-knell was there sounded of the attitude that could frame the policy or estimate the service of any one society, type of work, or even of any one field apart from its context—the missionary work of other organizations and other methods, and the need in other areas. The farther we get away from Edinburgh 1910 the more clearly it looms up as the great divide, the water-shed marking the flow in new directions of the streams of tendency in the world work.

Those who recall, for instance, across these intervening years the seven tense, concentrated minutes in which young Pastor Cheng Ching-yi at Edinburgh packed the seven reasons for working toward the self-determination of the Church in China, and who heard him again at Jerusalem 1928 on the same subject reinforced by a powerful group of a score of other Chinese Christian leaders and other scores from the younger churches as a whole, realized that his speech in 1910 had been the authentic voice of prophecy.

The end of the Edinburgh Conference, then, was only the beginning of coöperation. Its one creative act, as Dr. John R. Mott, its Chairman, has said, was the appointment of a Continuation Committee, which not only kept alive but "advanced by great strides the cause of international missionary coöperation." Broken by the war, kept alive in spirit and increasingly in action by an Emergency Committee, the Continuation Committee lost its identity, but found its soul through the post-war creation of a new organization on a new basis—the International Missionary Council.

Cruising over the oceans and penetrating all the continents and many islands of the world in the intervening years, Dr. Mott, as Chairman of the Continuation Committee, drew together in area after area, both in "sending" and in "receiving" countries, national missionary councils. Those in Asia by the incorporation of the indigenous churches became National Christian Councils. In such a scattered yet essentially homogeneous area as North Africa and Western Asia an area international council was formed.

Alongside this process of constitutional growth for coöperative action went the steady development of the practice of coöperation in a multitude of spheres, e.g., in the relation of missions with governments, in the production of literature, in evangelistic campaigns, in the creation and maintenance of union universities and colleges (of which there are now over a hundred in fifteen countries, forty per cent. being not only interdenominational, but inter-continental in their composition), medical schools and hospitals, theological and training colleges, and last, but by no means least, in the movement on the mission field toward church unity.

From the national councils so formed and on the strong foundation of the habit of coöperation so developed, the International Missionary Council was created. After a preliminary conference of leaders in 1919 at the Chateau de Crans, Switzerland, where it was decided to frame a genuinely representative body, the company separated to sound the opinion of the national groups. In 1921 it met at Lake Mohonk, New York, U. S. A., where the Council was fully constituted, and again at Oxford, England, in 1923; its executive committee holding meetings in the interim in Canterbury, England, 1922, Atlantic City, U. S. A., 1925, and Rättvik, Sweden, 1926.

The International Missionary Council is, then, an advisory and not an executive body. Created by the national councils which themselves represent denominational missionary societies and indigenous churches, the International Missionary Council has no authority of itself, save to recommend action through its national groups to the ultimate constituent societies and churches that they serve. It exists to focus attention on great issues facing Christian forces everywhere; to bring together the outlook and experience of many lands for the inspiration and guidance of all; to align the complementary resources of all so that, from such collaboration, such fellowship in thought and prayer, common and triumphant progressive action may emerge.

We now ask ourselves what compelling call brought the

Council together in 1928, and at Jerusalem; what issues confronted it there and what gift it received of vision, of mandate, and of message that are of real moment for the whole world?

III

For any group of forces or any system of ideas to-day claiming universal validity and desiring to help the tormented post-war world, no need is greater than the creation of a coherent world outlook—a *Weltanschauung*. For no group of forces and for no system of ideas is this more overwhelmingly true than for the Christian forces and the Christian message.

Has there ever been any hour in the long story of Christendom when, not in one place, but everywhere and simultaneously, so terrific a series of assaults, above ground and from beneath, frontal and from the flank, have attacked at once the citadel of the Faith and its garrison? Alongside these attacks when has so clamant a world of new needs made such new demands on the service of the Christian community?

Here is a bare catalog of some of these forces and needs. The shattering impact of the war; the bitter disillusionments of the post-war world; the emergence of great new pretenders to the control of life, such as Bolshevism and Fascism; the universal growth of a spirit of relativism; and, in particular, the breakdown of belief in absolute reality and authority in the sphere of morals, especially in those areas that lie at the root of Christian ideas of personality and of home; the debate on Western civilization with its consequent derogation of the whole status of the Christian faith with which that civilization has been bound up; the coincident upheaval of vehement racial and national demands for self-determination on every continent; the whole movement for a larger freedom in which woman can develop her personality and serve her age; the tidal flow of secular mechanistic civilization across the whole world; the coincident frenzied pursuit of pleasure and of prosperity as the chief aim of man; the accompanying spread of modern indus-

trial conditions into Asia and Africa, with disastrous results of its uncontrolled effects among the inexhaustible multitudes of unorganized cheap labor, especially of children and women; the exploitation of primitive peoples; the dangers of syncretism in religion with its lifeless mosaic of unrelated fragments of truth; and at the root of it all a simultaneous and dangerous attack on the conception of personality which Christianity holds and practises, attacks from different sides, from dogmatic physical psychology and from philosophy, as well as from the mass-conceptions both of Bolshevik communism and of mechanistic capitalism. The mountain-range of problems thus presented to contemporary Christianity is inescapable and fills the whole horizon. Any world faith must either face and surmount them or resign its place.

The world that the Edinburgh Conference faced has been broken up, thrown into the crucible, and melted down. Many problems confronted then have suffered revolutionary transformation. The answers that then were valid are now largely irrelevant. Policies that then savored of adventurous pioneering are now either accepted and taken for granted, or have been put into effect and are now inadequate. A whole new world of problem and task faces the expansion of Christendom. The pressure of that problem is not here or there but everywhere. It is as real to the new churches as to the old; and equally relevant and insistent on each side of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. For the new situation four things are clearly needed, new knowledge, a common mind on the supreme realities, new power, and new leadership.

First is new knowledge, for certainly what we possess is inadequate to the tremendous situation that lies before us. The charts of the shoals and deeps, the currents and tides of the pre-war world are useless. A new charting based upon a fresh survey on a world scale is required.

We need, secondly, to arrive at sufficient conscious unity of purpose and of plan to be sure of moving with relative harmony toward a common objective. Uniformity would be fatal. But

the new and bewildering complexity of situation created by the fresh forces active in the world has led to confusion of purpose, conflicting voices, cross-currents, and chaos, producing paralysis of will and of action. Here the need is to share insight and to draw closer and move forward together in coöperation and confidence.

Knowledge and a common mind, however, would still be useless without power. Accurate charts and excellent new engines avail nothing to a liner unless she carries a sufficient head of steam. The deepest need of all, then, is for spiritual dynamic, a clear revival of real experience, a personal knowledge of God in Christ, and a corporate certainty that in the Father is Truth, absolute and final, the Supreme Reality, almighty Love, reconciling, suffering, forgiving; re-creating and leading men into a triumphant realization of His Kingdom.

Given these three requisites, the fourth need, a new leadership, could be sought with confidence. For here is an enterprise to which the greatest intellect and the most powerful personality, the most skilful statesmanship, the simplest and deepest mysticism can worthily offer their richest gifts.

To begin to achieve this purpose of securing new knowledge, new community of purpose, and new power it was clear that personal intercourse was the first requisite—in a word, conference was essential. Preparation of an intensive nature could and should be made by literature and in local groups; but to get a fresh world mind on these issues there must be a fresh world meeting.

That was the situation that made "Jerusalem 1928" not just something that it might be useful to have, but a crying, inescapable necessity of the Christian forces of the world.

A new world conference suggested itself, a second "Edinburgh." But the mind recoiled first from the terrible expense involved in the preparation, organization, and transport of such a huge conference under the totally changed economic conditions prevailing. Secondly, the need clearly called, not for a large conference in the sense of a great gathering to which speeches

would be addressed, but for a smaller, carefully selected group, that could settle down, as an association of experienced minds from all parts of the world, to an intimate fellowship in thought and prayer and could seek unitedly the power and the wisdom of God and share across all frontiers of race, language, and denominational difference, the truth so that from their gathering creative leading might emerge.

It was, therefore, decided by the Committee of the International Missionary Council, meeting in Rättvik, Sweden, in July 1926, to call an enlarged meeting of the Council itself to gather at Jerusalem for the fortnight ending Easter 1928.

Why and how enlarged? Two outstanding needs could not be met within the existing membership of the Council.

First, the glorious growth of the younger churches in the mission field made a thorough and fresh consideration of their relationship with the older churches central to the program of any council. This growth is not only in numbers but in capacity, and not only in capacity but in the overwhelmingly swift increase of responsibility forced upon them by revolutionary civil war, particularly in Asia, and by the new forcing climate of nationalism.

This involved a quite fresh balance of representation if discussion was to be real and fruitful, and to mark the dawn of a new day. The first decision, then, was to increase largely the number of members from lands to which the Western churches send missionaries. And from those lands two-thirds at least of the representation was to be of nationals of the countries from which they came.

Secondly, it became clear that the subject-matter of the Council meeting would lead into fields in which the Council's own membership needed reinforcement. A thoroughgoing inquiry all over the world of outstanding need showed that drastic research is required into the relation of the younger and the older churches, the Christian life and message in relation to non-Christian systems (including secular civilization), religious education, the Christian mission in the light of race conflict,

industrial development and rural needs, as well as the future of international coöperation. The presence at the Council meeting was therefore secured of men who carry world-wide authority in the fields of psychology and pedagogy, of theology and philosophy, of race problems, industry, economics, and forced labor, and of rural problems and work.

A third reason for enlargement was to secure some representation, however inadequate, of the new generation, with a view to their contribution both to the Council's thought and to the growth of a new leadership. With this in mind, some fourteen national student Christian movements sent representatives who did valiant work in aiding the organization of the meetings as well as in taking part in the deliberations.

IV

Why, however, should the meeting of the Council be held at Jerusalem? The first consideration leading to Jerusalem lay in the fact that from many quarters, Western as well as Eastern, the need was felt that the Council, as a world organization that must hold itself sensitive to every true current of Christian life and especially to new movements in fresh fields, having met twice in the West—once on each side of the Atlantic Ocean—should meet in Asia. A careful survey of ocean routes, contrasting the cost in time and money of travel to a number of different centers in Asia showed that, from a world point of view a place near the Suez Canal, at the junction point of Europe, Asia, and Africa afforded great advantages. Jerusalem is within a short night's journey of the canal.

More potent still as a motive for meeting there was the unique spiritual setting of Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. The event justified the choice. The influence of the place upon the mind and spirit of the Council was penetrating and cumulative. The hourly inspiration of the outlook from Olivet over Jerusalem itself, "a city compact together," and the associations, not only of the City and of the Mount of Olives on which we lived,

but of the whole marvellous landscape, the hills and the valleys "full of the sound of running history," was so pervasive that we may well pause here to take in some glimpses of it.

Standing there on the ridge of the Mount of Olives, a man can look east across the Jordan Valley to Transjordania and west across Jerusalem toward the Mediterranean; he can gaze northward over the hills of Judaea toward Samaria and Galilee and southward over Bethlehem toward Hebron and the roads that run down to Egypt.

Northeastward we look across the purple mists that rise from the deep rift of the Jordan Valley to the rolling plateau of the Hauran whence Abram started out "not knowing whither he went" on the spiritual adventures of Faith that led him across these very hills to place his son Isaac as sacrifice on the rock that lies under the Dome of the Rock in the Temple Area of Jerusalem. Our eyes move southeastward across the gleam of sunshine on the Dead Sea to the hills of Moab, where Moses after leading his people out of slavery stood to see but not to enter the Promised Land. Between us and those hills, in the deepest rift on the planet a thousand feet below sea level, flows the Jordan over which Joshua led the people. Up and down these scarred limestone hills prophets like Samuel, whose birthplace and tomb crown a hill in full view to our north, and Elijah, whose ravine hiding-place by the Brook Kerith is carved in the not far distant hills, declared the justice and mercy of the will of the one God.

Greatest of all, and within a thousand yards of us, lies Jerusalem, whose story runs back to an Egyptian outpost fort, a Jebusite stronghold full thirty-three centuries ago. That story is so fully charged with the pageant of the dealing of God with man that it defies our describing. We can, however, recall swiftly the panorama from the time when David, who three centuries after his people had first conquered the land, advanced northward from Hebron and took that stronghold. Jerusalem, seated on a forbidding spur of scarred and ravined rock, possessing only one solitary spring of living water and having

neither river nor soil nor mineral riches, unable to produce of herself even the bare necessities of life, grew, triumphed, and has survived eighteen full sieges and the fact that she has been beset and encircled by enemies on a further score of occasions. And all this not by natural gifts of position or possession, but by the fact that her temple was the center and the City was the symbol of the greatest spiritual treasure yet given to man. The immeasurable riches of the truth that God is one and is good, that He created man and cares for him, and that His will is man's highest law and greatest good did in fact, even before Christ came, outweigh incomparably in power and reality all the spiritual teaching that Greece and Rome and Asia had to give.

So it is that, while our eyes follow the pageant of the conquerors and kings of Jerusalem, Solomon and Nebuchadnezzar, the captains of the Pharaohs and Sennacherib, the generals of Cyrus the Persian and of Alexander of Macedonia, Ptolemy and Titus, Herod and Hadrian, it is the message of Isaiah and not the might of Sennacherib, the song of the Psalmist and not the sword of Nebuchadnezzar who smashed her temple and defiled her vessels with the sensual wines of Baal, that made the place and made it immortal. It is when we hear the *reveillé* of Isaiah:

> "Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion
> Put on thy beautiful garments,
> O Jerusalem, the holy city.
> . . . . . .
> Loose thyself from the bands of thy neck,
> O captive daughter of Zion,"

and feel the thrill of affectionate and delighted patriotism and worship in the song:

> "Our feet are standing
> Within thy gates, O Jerusalem;
> Jerusalem that art builded
> As a city compact together.

Whither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord
To give thanks unto the name of the Lord.

. . . . . .

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem;
They shall prosper that love thee.
Peace be within thy walls,
And prosperity within thy palaces:"

it is then that we catch the secret of the miracle of Jerusalem's immortality. While the empires of Persia and Assyria, Babylon, Greece, and Rome have disappeared, she lived as the spiritual home of the supreme Knowledge of God that man had received. Awed silence, however, falls upon us when all that pageant has passed and the King of Kings goes by, derided with His crown of thorns.

The members of the International Missionary Council took upon themselves, as an integral and central part of the fellowship of the meeting, to keep tryst day after day with each other and with Him on the Mount and in Jerusalem. The recollection of those memorial acts of the Council will never fade from the minds of those who shared in them.

First was the two hours' devotional contemplation of Jerusalem on the first of the three Sundays when, led by the Bishop of Jerusalem, we from the slope of Olivet passed in review much of the story of the Holy City. We walked the Temple Area where He went as a Boy "about my Father's business," and as a Man taught the people and cleansed the courts from the mammon of the money-changers. Then on Palm Sunday we walked in a pilgrimage of silence and song from Bethany through Bethphage along the path that He took on His triumphal entry into Jerusalem on that day. On Maundy Thursday night we stood in the Garden of Gethsemane among the millenial olive trees and boulders, while overhead the moon struggled with wind-tortured cloud. There we prayed in the place where He wrestled in agony of prayer through that mysterious struggle in which "My will" came into harmony with

"Thine." And many, early on Good Friday morning, walked with Him the Via Dolorosa, and hailed the dawn of Easter at the Garden Tomb.

These were not hours of mere sentimental and emotional pilgrimage. For the Council was faced day by day, as we shall see, with the terrific and stern realities of the world situation confronting the Christian forces. So the constant reminder of the life and death and resurrection of our Lord, from His boyhood when He went to the Temple, to His baptism in the Jordan, visible eighteen miles away, where He heard the authentic voice of His Father, His battle in the wilderness of temptation at our feet, His repose in Bethany close by where He shared the love of the home of His friends, His communion on the Mount of Olives where it was His custom to come and pray together with His disciples; and the crisis in the Judgment Hall and Calvary and the Broken Tomb where He suffered and triumphed—all these brought back in insistent spiritual recollection the realities of the Faith by which we are still called to live and to carry on the contemporary campaigns of His Kingdom.

Nothing, however, came home more immediately to the heart and conscience of the Council as it lived night and day on the Mount than the recollection that in that last week of Jesus' life on earth "every night he went out and lodged in the mount that is called the Mount of Olives," and above all that on the last night "He went, as His custom was, unto the Mount of Olives, and the disciples also followed Him. And when He was at the place, He said unto them, 'Pray, that ye enter not into temptation,' . . . And He kneeled down and prayed."

Here we were, His disciples with Him in that same week in that same place and He said to us, "Pray." Indeed it seemed that with us once more in that same place "He kneeled down and prayed." The profound reality of the prayer life of the Council was due above all to the blended sense of the sternness of the issues confronted and of the real presence of the Lord in whose service it faced them.

Chapter II

THE CHANGING WORLD SITUATION

I

Jerusalem, then, was the ideal site, and Passiontide there the ideal time.

How, then, to house so large a group in Jerusalem at the time of the year when the place is crowded with many thousands of pilgrims, Jewish, Moslem, and Christian, and multitudes of tourists? On the ridge of the Mount of Olives the massive buildings set up before the war by German Christians, at once as a gift to their Empress and as a sanatorium for Christian workers, and occupied since the war as the government buildings by the British Commissioner under the League of Nations Mandate, were given back by the British government in 1928 to the Germans and were by them made accessible for the meetings of the Council. Powerful as the structure is, it has been severely shaken by the recent earthquake, and considerable repairs were effected by special gifts of friends of the Council.

On the opposite side of the road that runs along the ridge of the Mount of Olives, wooden barracks were set up for the Council members as sleeping quarters,—two long huts for the men and one smaller one for the women delegates, while white tents were dotted about among the grey olive trees looking out across the City. Blazing anemones, exquisitely tinted blue wild irises, and other flowers gleamed all over the field. At night the wheeling stars sparkled from the deep indigo sky and the Paschal moon blanched the limestone roofs and walls of Jeru-

salem with an unearthly beauty; while the evening wind from the Mediterranean Sea, blowing where it listed, brought fresh, bracing strength to the tired brains of the delegates.

The Jerusalem patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church placed his summer palace and the Galilea Church on the Mount of Olives at the disposal of the conference, while the Russian nuns generously offered the hospitality of their convent to the women delegates; and the Russian Archbishop's Cathedral choir came to the conference for our Easter morning service and shook our souls with the tragic and joyful notes of their Passion music.

It was, then, to this place from this world background and with hearts beating with these hopes that the delegates came during the morning of March 24, 1928. No one present on that brilliant Spring morning under the blazing sunshine can ever forget coming up the long white ribbon of road and seeing the men and women of fifty nations alight from their vehicles and begin to know each other. Here in the blue silk robe of his country is Dr. Tsu-Chen Chao, Professor of Philosophy in Yenching University; there under his white turban sparkle the humorous eyes of Mr. K. T. Paul, one of India's national Christian leaders; here again is Chief Sirwano W. Kulubya, a young Baganda chief and scholar, lithe, tall, and young, ruler of scores of thousands of his countrymen and a member of the Synod of the Church of Uganda. The gentle face of Miss Tara N. Tilak, daughter of the famous Indian Christian poet, robed in her exquisitely graceful sari, lightens as she talks with the robust, witty Korean, Miss Kiduk Kim, Dean of Ewha Woman's College, Seoul, whose bright blue silk tunic is the most vivid splash of color in the whole Council.

The nine bishops present included Bishop Uzaki of Japan, the Nigerian, Dr. Howells, as well as bishops from Persia and Palestine, Britain and North America. Among a galaxy of German scholars and administrators we meet Professor Heim of the University of Tübingen, Professor Richter of the University of Berlin, and Dr. Schlunk, chairman of the German

Missionsausschuss (or National Committee). Fully twenty or twenty-five college presidents and professors are present. We had the aid of experts like Mr. Harold Grimshaw of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, who is considered the world's first specialist on the subject of forced labor, Mr. R. H. Tawney of the London School of Economics, author of *The Acquisitive Society,* and of *Capital and Religion,* Professor Hocking of Harvard University, known the world over for his profoundly original and creative work as author of *Human Nature and Its Remaking* and *God in the Experience of Man,* Dr. Stanley Jones, author of *The Christ of the Indian Road,* and *Christ at the Round Table,* Professor Weigle of Yale University, universally influential through his sustained writing and teaching on religious education, Dr. Tien-Lu Li, Professor of Education in Shantung, Miss Pao-Swen Tseng, Founder and Principal of the famous I Fang Girls' College in Changsha, China, Professor Ahmed-Shah of Lucknow University; Professor Senzi Turu of Japan, Dr. Reischauer of Japan, whose knowledge of Buddhism is unrivalled, and Dr. Kraemer of the Netherlands Indies, unsurpassed by any other living student of Islam. These are examples that could be multiplied of men and women who by bringing their varied gifts of experience and genius from many nations contributed to the uniqueness of the Council meeting at Jerusalem.

Where the Edinburgh Conference had only twenty "nationals" from the younger churches of Asia and Africa out of over 1,200 delegates, Jerusalem had over fifty "nationals" out of the 200 delegates, apart from the other co-opted members.

A still deeper note, sounding the prophecy of a still wider coöperation of our common Christendom was heard when the Council, composed of members of the older and the younger Protestant churches entertained the leaders of the ancient churches, the Metropolitan of the Greek Church, Archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, and leading ecclesiastics of the Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, and Assyrian Churches.

II

What preparation had been made before the delegates arrived for insuring that the problems handled at the Council meeting should be just those demanded by the world situation that we have swiftly surveyed; and that those great issues should be faced with such thoroughness, such expert knowledge, such spiritual insight and prophetic wisdom that a real and satisfying result should accrue?

The Edinburgh Conference was prepared for by eight commissions, each of some twenty members working for two years on the following subjects: Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World, the Church on the Mission Field, Education in Relation to the Christianization of National Life, the Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions, Missions and Governments, Coöperation and the Promotion of Unity, the Preparation of Missionaries, and the Home Base of Missions. All the chairmen and all the members of the commissions were British, American, or Continental. Out of their deliberations, based on replies to questions sent out all over the world, long reports were written which reached most of the delegates in long galley-proofs in time to read them on liner and railway train while traveling to Edinburgh. These reports, revised in the light of the discussions, became the famous set of red-backed volumes that, sold to the number of 18,000 after the Conference, spread the lessons of "Edinburgh" to the ends of the earth.

The Jerusalem Council was prepared for, first, by a world-wide inquiry as to what actually are the problems that loom largest before the expanding mission of Christianity in the world, as seen not only by the Western missionary, but by the growing indigenous Christian leadership all over Asia, Africa, and South America. Dr. Mott made a series of journeys in which he met in the Far East and in Indonesia, in Australasia, in Europe, Britain, and North America representative groups of leaders who, in most cases, gave days on end to the consider-

ation of, among others, the questions, What problems most need elucidation? What are the problems that cannot be handled satisfactorily save on a world basis? The results of that inquiry were startling.

If we put a list of the subjects chosen for "Jerusalem 1928" side by side with those chosen for "Edinburgh 1910" and explore the similarities and differences, a vivid light is flung on the scene. The Jerusalem subjects, we recall again, were The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems, including secular civilization; Religious Education; The Relation between the Younger and the Older Churches; The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict; Christianity and the Growth of Industrialism in Asia and Africa; The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems; and The Future of International Missionary Coöperation.

Underlying that whole list is a profound revolutionary change. No longer do we see in sharp geographical distinction a Christian and a non-Christian world with the one in the West standing in a missionary relation to the other in the East and Africa. The "Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions" was the subject at Edinburgh. To-day "Christian" has replaced "Missionary," "Life" precedes "Message," and non-Christian "Systems" replaces "Religions." And when it comes to real grips with the problem of the non-Christian systems, it is not just Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism, or Buddhism that holds the attention, but it is the materialist "secular civilization" that has itself sprung up in the midst of Western Christendom that is seen to be the enemy. Materialistic civilization is being spread over the whole planet by the West. And this materialism is discovered to be the enemy not only of the Christian religion but of religion as a whole, corrosive for the most part of the whole religious attitude to life. Not science, not invention, not commerce in themselves, but the materialism that controls them is the enemy. The spiritual elements in religion everywhere thus ally themselves with the Christian message in opposition to materialism in all its forms.

Some of the profound implications of this change of missionary attitude we shall see as the discussion proceeds. What they ultimately involve we can only now, however, begin to grasp. It will be the fascinating and often baffling task of the new generation to work them out in thought and action in their bearing on the whole leavening and transforming relation of Christianity to the world community of human life.

The other subjects chosen for the Jerusalem Meeting simply fling into still stronger relief this drastic change of outlook. Not the church in the mission field is the subject now, but the relations between that church and those of the West, which is a part of the whole problem of nationalism as well as of systems of thought. Not the application of an accepted way of Christian education to national life, but the far profounder issues of the whole nature of religious education itself and of its relation to the mind of Christ. And, not "the Preparation of Missionaries" or "the Home Base of Missions" stood first, but the relation of the Christian Mission as a whole, first, to the outthrust of Western industrialism from the old Western base of missions in its often calamitous impact on Asia and Africa; secondly, to the whole world menace of inter-racial conflict that has resulted from Western domination and the resultant spirit of nationalist and racial self-determination; and thirdly, to that stupendous "green proletariat" of rural life which is proving its enormous power by arresting the onrush of the Red Proletariat, and which, after all, includes by far the greater part of the human race. These areas of life are now seen to constitute the real battlefield.

In a word, when we came together in Edinburgh in 1910, the Western world was relatively secure in its power to present to an Asiatic and African non-Christian world a Gospel which it felt that it had itself learned and begun to practise. In 1928 the Western world has begun to see itself as the author of great materialistic and industrial forces and inter-racial antagonisms which form in their uncontrolled state a common menace to the world's life and especially to the life of the spirit. It sees that

its own life is thus certainly not in tune with the Gospel that it has been sending to the world; it is not even wholly sure of the full meaning of that Gospel. Therefore the Western world is itself a mission field. The home base of missions is not a geographical entity at all, but is simply Christ wherever He lives in human life.

Obviously any rushed discussion, any hastily conceived recommendations on issues so profound and in many ways so novel would be either perilous or futile, and in any case would be as unworthy of the Council, as it would be disappointing to the expectancy with which the world looks to it for some guidance. Awake, long in advance, to this danger, the Committee of the Council and its officers labored to develop a world-wide consideration of the issues involved.

Many months before the most distant of the delegates began to pack for the voyage to Jerusalem pamphlets began to reach them on these subjects. The pamphlets were not so much the result of commission work as the expression of the life-long experience of trusted leaders, reinforced and corrected by such collaboration from other specialists as they could secure. Men like the late Canon Gairdner of Egypt, Dr. Macnicol of India, Dr. J. Leighton Stuart of China, Dr. Reischauer of Japan, Professor Kenneth Saunders, out of experience in Asia, Dr. Rufus Jones with his world outlook upon the movements of civilization, and Professor Weigle and Mr. J. H. Oldham, specialists in religious education in collaboration with educational leadership in Europe, were among the authors of the preparatory pamphlets on aspects of the relationship between the churches and the Christian mission in relation to race conflict, industrialism, and rural problems, as well as the future of coöperation. Thus ample and stimulating material for preparation was provided.

Groups met, often very carefully selected, to thresh out in their own national environment their views on the problems placed before them. In total thousands of groups were in session. The Council owed much of the extraordinary richness of

thought in its meetings to the work done beforehand by these groups in discussions on this pamphlet material. New points of view were presented; perils and pitfalls were indicated; inadequacies or false emphases were corrected.

III

By what processes, however, could the individual wisdom of the 240 members of the Council when assembled at Jerusalem, or even the collective wisdom of each national group, be drawn into such synthetic strength and coherent unity as to present the agreed mind not only of those present but of the vast forces that they represented?

The accumulated experience of long years of conference and council in many lands was here called into service to devise processes. These do not, at first sight, look simple. Yet a little examination of them and thought over possible alternatives will show, as indeed experience proved, how well planned they were to achieve the needed results.

If the shades of the Apostles who attended the Jerusalem Council of A. D. 50 had come unseen to visit the corridors and committee rooms of the Jerusalem Council of A. D. 1928, the first impressions of a St. Paul or a St. Peter at the rattling typewriters, the revolving duplicating machines, the complicated system of committees involving every single member of the Conference would surely have seemed very complex.

The process by which a problem was presented first from scores of angles in the open forum of the whole Council, then hammered out sectionally in groups covering different divisions of the subject, passed on to a special commission charged with the duty of framing recommendations on that subject fit to give a lead to the world, then brought back in written form to the whole Council, criticized and added to and remitted to the group for final drafting and brought back for acceptance, was certainly not that by which the Apostles reached the four-

point findings, that cover only half a sheet of notepaper, as reported in the book of Acts.

Would not such elaborate machinery choke the channels of spiritual life and hinder the clear guidance of God's will?

On the contrary, paradoxical as it may sound, the mechanism of the Jerusalem Meeting was an attempt to triumph over the unwieldiness and complexity inevitable in any world meeting and to get back to the method of the Apostles.

What, after all, was that apostolic method? It was of a small group seeking and finding the will of God in a fellowship of thought and prayer. It is a physical and spiritual impossibility for any group of 240 folk as a unit to achieve such intimate fellowship which is dependent upon conversation and quiet prayer. Yet no smaller group would have represented the world issues at stake. The process then was as indicated above.

Each subject was opened up fully in open forum by the whole Council to insure having the mind of every one concentrated on the total issue. The maximum of fellowship was provided for, however, in the larger meetings of the whole Council by very careful preparations that made for the greatest amount of new acquaintanceship across all sorts of frontiers. The mechanical side of this is of real importance. In the great hall a chair was provided for each delegate with a broad flat arm large enough to hold papers or to be used as a writing desk. The name of the delegate was tacked on each chair. Hours of continuous thought were given by the officers in advance to the seating of the members. To follow any row of seats across the hall and the two aisles was an illuminating exercise. Here for instance are two rows taken at random. First row: Indian educationist, American bishop, Scottish missionary administrator, Japanese bishop, English bishop, Chinese professor of philosophy, German professor of theology, American woman Board member (and wife of a bishop), French ex-missionary now missionary administrator, Chinese church moderator, English bishop, French layman (treasurer), Japanese woman educationist, Dutch missionary

in Netherlands Indies. Second row: Burmese educationist, Brazilian educationist, British missionary administrator, Indian national leader, Canadian missionary administrator, American bishop, missionary from the Fiji Islands, Chinese professor of education, Dutch member of the Netherlands Indies Volksraad, American woman Doctor of Literature with a lifetime's service in China, German missionary administrator, Indian author and national leader and Young Men's Christian Association secretary, eminent American missionary speaker and administrator, Nigerian bishop, Korean national Young Men's Christian Association secretary.

After one or more brief addresses to open up the subject, seven-minutes speeches, subsequently altered to six minutes for those to whom English is their native tongue and eight minutes to the others, brought light from every field and from very widely differing types of experience and outlook.

Dr. Mott's chairmanship, magnificent as it was at Edinburgh, was here superb. The blend of inflexible firmness with unfailing courtesy, the stern hand on all irrelevancy, the swift flash of humor in the tense situation, the rapid forward thrust of the leonine head and the eyes gleaming under the shaggy beetling brows as a new idea emerged, the untiring patience—all these revealed the prince of presidents in his fullest powers.

The central act of these open forum sessions was the united worship and intercession in which the minds that had been united seeking truth and presenting experience turned corporately to God for truth above their knowledge and experience deeper than human means can plumb.

Then the subject was broken up into its aspects. It was grappled with in more detail by groups meeting in the afternoons, groups that included every member of the Council. To each group was given a different question or problem arising from or involved in the particular subject. The conclusions of these groups were brought then for coördination and synthesis to a single group of experts on the whole subject. To that group was given the responsibility of producing findings on

the subject, recommendations that should be timely, such as could not have been written before the war, forward-looking, practical, and progressive, findings that would afford a definite lead to Christendom. Those findings, on which tremendous mental and spiritual toil was concentrated often deep into the night, were then brought back to the Council as a whole to be discussed, amended, and either accepted or referred for further strengthening to the group.

It will be seen that the method of Jerusalem 1928 was indeed the method of "Jerusalem 50," a group of men with varied first-hand experience of the mind of God and of His tasks in the world, sharing a sustained fellowship in thought and prayer, until light breaks, a leading toward united action is discovered and expressed, and the wills of all are bent unitedly to achieve His purposes.

Chapter III

THE NEW ALIGNMENT

I

"Christianity," wrote a Chinese teacher in a startling letter read by Dr. Robert Speer, "is making inroads upon the other religions from one side; but they are suffering a great deal more in the rear from a group of new enemies—scientific agnosticism, materialistic determinism, political fascism, moral iconoclasm. These have advanced so far into their territory that Christianity must, for all practical purposes, ignore the incapacitated older religions. It must think of its frontier work in terms of what it will have to do with these new forces."

This Dr. Speer agreed, in his opening statement at the discussion on "The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems" is, within a limited but enlarging area, a true diagnosis of the situation. A moment's reflection is enough to show what a staggering transformation this effects in the whole area of the enterprise of world evangelization.

It is, as Dr. Speer showed, not only against the background of non-Christian religions, but also against this new secular and naturalistic view which has spread across the world that we have to state our message. The ultimate issue lies in this realm of secular life, in the irreligious and anti-religious systems and attitudes, even more than with the religions other than Christian. This is a battle, not simply for the missionary, but for the whole Church, including in particular men of science and philosophers. Christianity itself in its own citadels has to face

these same vigorous, insistent, undermining enemies. Clearly a new alignment of our whole battlefront is demanded.

Nor is it the Christian message in words or as speculative thought alone that has to be presented in face of this situation. It is the Christian life that the world needs. And that life not only in the personality of the individual Christian, but in the corporate contacts of the Christian nation, in its commerce, its diplomacy, its literature,—its whole expression of life in an inter-dependent, inter-related, interacting world.

The contribution that we have to give is, then, not only in thought: it is in action. It is a demonstration of love in life that is required at the hands of the Christian and of Christendom.

We must not, however, be carried away with the fact that, for the educated folk of the world, the battle is on the secular plane in this region of cultured unbelief. The vast multitudes of the uneducated masses in Asia and Africa go on largely unshaken in their old ways of life, holding to their ancient beliefs and practices. This is above all true of the illiterate womanhood of the world, with whom the fashioning of each new generation so largely rests.

Simultaneously, still further to complicate the issue, we have to recognize great areas of good in the scientific advance and material well-being of this new and growing secular civilization. All the forces of science and production that make for health, for people adequately fed and clothed and housed, for beauty in the home, for sanely spent leisure and so on, are good and not evil. Similarly, no religious system in the world is without its witness to eternal moral and spiritual truth. It is then in word and in life, constructively and not destructively, in irenic gift and not in negative criticism, that the Christian message must be presented by the individual and the nation in face both of materialism and of non-Christian thought and practice.

This monstrous hydra-headed menace of materialism loomed, for the Council, above all other enemies. It was seen that all

over the world millions are drifting not only from Christianity but from Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Animism. They are shedding what faith they have had and are finding nothing in its place. "I would rather have a man who bows down before a daub of red paint or a stone," cried Principal Mackenzie of Bombay, "than an educated man who has nothing but materialism and is satisfied with it."

The conviction grew that, in the long run, the non-Christian religions cannot face and survive the corrosive influence of modern science, because they lack a factual basis in history that is adequate to carry their metaphysical superstructure, whereas Christianity carries its own history and its own metaphysics in that history. It is rooted in ultimate reality through concrete facts and deeds that are direct acts of God. Other faiths tend under the pressure of modern science and research to get away from the historical records of their origins and assume a more and more Christian ethic and metaphysic. This is largely true, for example, of Neo-Buddhism. Christianity, on the other hand, improves its position and strengthens its message as it gets back to its historical basis. This means, as Dr. Mackenzie said, that "The old Gospel is all that we have; but we may well discard the old wrappings in which we have incased it and get back to its original simplicity."

So seen the ultimate and real task is recognized to be the presentation of a convincing, converting spiritual Christian interpretation of the universe and all human life in the face of the materialist aspects of modern secular civilization.

The fallacy, however, of tying up the idea of secular civilization with the Western world was severely trounced by Dr. Diffendorfer. "Materialism, the exploitation of man for gain, is world-wide," he said. "There is no system in the world more materialistic in its exploitation than that of the Indian zemindar by which the money-lender enslaves whole villages, a system going back far behind all Western civilization. The economic development by Chinese in the South Sea Islands has not a spark of altruism in it: its sole aim is materialistic. We are,

in fact, confronting a fundamental problem in human nature and we must grapple with it on a straight human basis."

This drastic simplification of the issue was challenged, however, notably by Mr. Samuel G. Inman of the Committee on Coöperation in Latin America. "After all," he said, "the world is divided to-day into the countries that manufacture and therefore need raw materials and those that provide the raw materials. The former are the progressive Western peoples and the latter are more backward and are exploited by the former. We are faced by the fact that exploiting progressive peoples are also those who are the 'sending' countries at present from the missionary standpoint; just as the 'raw material' countries are the 'receiving' lands. How can we, in such a situation, work out a relationship between these two great blocks of humanity that will stand for spiritual fellowship?"

The idea that science is the mainspring of the anti-religious materialistic civilization was also sharply criticized by Professor Weigle. "That idea ignores two facts. First, that non-thinking unscientific hedonism, the sheer pleasure idea of life is at the root of materialism. Secondly, that if man were completely rational or scientific he would be religious. Nothing can ultimately help our religious position more than the most thorough scientific and philosophical investigation of the universe. To draw and to remember always this distinction between science and a naturalistic philosophy is of the highest importance." This thought of the positive values of scientific secular civilization was carried still further by Dr. Oliver and Dr. Frimodt-Möller in their plea for recognition of the whole sphere of medical science and the treatment of the sick as a natural expression of the mind of Christ and an essential part of the Church's program; not a net or a bait, but a sheer expression of love in Christ. Canon Quick carried this still further in his plea that truth in the New Testament sense means the world of ultimate reality and in the scientific sense it is the same. The scientific search for truth involves a rigorous intellectual and moral discipline in itself religious.

II

It was with a thrilling, yet awed, sense of adventure into new continents of need and opportunity that the Council, then, set itself, in face of this situation, to the supreme question: "Is there a Christian life and a Christian message that is distinctive, universally valid, sufficient, and authoritative? Is Christianity a religion with unique values? In what way do we see in Christ a sufficient, absolute final Saviour of mankind? Is His idea of God and the world unique and essential? Is His personality irreplaceable? Do we know what the Christian life ought to be? In face of the concrete situations confronting us in the home, in commerce, in politics, in social contacts, inter-class, international, and inter-racial, are we not in fact thoroughly confused and bewildered as to the duty of the Christian?"

The Council leapt in spirit to the poignant plea of young Dr. Kraemer of Java for united work by Christians toward "a new world-view of life." "We are," he said, "in the birth-pangs of travail toward such a new view of life, a new *Weltanschauung* of God and human life. We have sets of detached dogmas; but the Western world is devoid of a comprehensive, convincing philosophy of life. Until we have reached a new Christian conception of life, the world of God, so long neither the Church nor its missionaries can be clear about their message."

"This," he declared, "is not to attempt to find a new Christianity. For Christianity is there already, a fixed fact, a gift of God and not a thing of our making. What we do need is a Christianity newly formulated and newly lived for the world of to-day. In such a formulation, the ultimate facts are three, God, the world, and man. God is the Creator and the Redeemer of the world. Man on one side is the most wretched and damnable creature; on the other side he is akin to God. Similarly, the world, a creation of God, has become wretched and damnable, and must again become God's world. Christianity is an act of God in face of these facts. It is the most paradoxical

and the most matter-of-fact of all religions: the most paradoxical, for it combines in real communion of life two opposites, Holy Personal God and sinful man, which come together in the Symbol of the Cross; the most matter-of-fact, because it grapples with the stern facts of life, sin, pain, disappointment, unrest. The real essence of Christianity is in the resurrection, a deed of God in purely divine dimensions. There the struggle that made the Cross found its victorious conclusion."

How are we to see and to say that and how to live it in terms that will grip the imagination, carry the conviction, and call out the allegiance of the new generation across the world?

Not by asserting the uniqueness of Christ, but by demonstrating in intelligible and convincing word and life in what that uniqueness consists, can the message be either framed, stated, or accepted. And to show that the challenge comes not simply for modern secular materialism, but from the non-Christian systems, Mr. Pandipeddi Chenchiah of India outlined the demand of Hinduism:

"While Christianity is challenging Hinduism at the base, Hinduism is challenging Christianity at the top. When we ask Hinduism what it has done for the depressed and down-trodden classes, Hinduism meets us with the counter-question, What have Christians to say to the finest fruit of Hindu religion and culture? Let me illustrate the point. Sadhu Sundar Singh, the Christian fakir known all the world over, is reported to have said that if his saintly mother, who is entirely the product of Hinduism, is not in Heaven he would politely but firmly refuse to enter that place. Hashels Chundar Sen, who among the Hindus of the last generation is a conspicuous example of personal devotion to Jesus, in his later life was attracted more and more to Rama Krishna Paramahamba, who represents the saintliness of Hinduism in a concrete form. To the question, 'What difference would it make to Mahatma Gandhi in his life and world if he became a Christian?' a group of Christian people were unable to find an adequate answer. These instances throw into relief the new challenge of Hinduism.

What is the uniqueness of Christianity, in the company not of sinners, but of saints of non-Christian religions? What message has Christ to the best and noblest products of Hinduism? . . . Non-Christian religions have ceased to be the opponents of Christianity but have become the competitors, as in the case of secular science, of Christianity. This is the great change in the religious situation that has occurred since the Edinburgh Conference. To this change the Christian method and message should adapt itself. Christianity has to run in an Olympic race with competitors every one of whom represents the trained, picked expert of the art. Have we saints? So has Hinduism. Have we men at peace with God? So have they. Have we men who fight for righteousness? So have they also. Above goodness and greatness and religious power, above the ideals of human heart, of human effort, there is, however," concluded Mr. Chenchiah, "a new creative energy which Christ has brought, which is to be the vehicle of a new earth and a new heaven. This power, Hinduism wants. Not till we uncover this power will Christ attract the saints and sinners of Hinduism. The Hindu does not want a way of life, but life, not the preaching about Christ, but Christ. If you have Christ, pass Him on. If you have the Holy Spirit, give it."

The Bishop of Manchester took up the challenge as to what difference it would make if Mr. Gandhi became a Christian.

"First, he would in a much fuller sense have found God. Secondly, it would enormously affect his social policy. Instead of turning his back on the results of scientific progress, he would claim that these results must be moralized and spiritualized. Mr. Gandhi's present attitude is only coherent with a belief in the illusory character of the material world. It is the glory of Christianity that it is the most materialistic of religions. Not in being less spiritual than others, but in being so spiritual that it can face and claim to control the material world. Its basic affirmation is that 'the Word was made flesh.'"

The Council recognized that in this matter of the relation of the Christian message to other systems everything depends on

attitude. Some sharp distinctions were here most helpfully defined by Dr. Reischauer of Japan.

"The attitude of opposition which said that Christ was right and all others wrong is unacceptable although it is essential to condemn in other systems what is clearly wrong. The attitude of indifference to other religions as negligible and outworn, though it has elements of justification, does not fully accord with the facts. The attitude of over-appreciation errs in falsely reading Christian content into other systems. The cold-blooded scientific attitude is useful as an aid to thought, but it is impossible as an instrument for weighing spiritual values. The right attitude is that of sympathetic insight accepting generously all truth wherever it is found. All the non-Christian systems are reaching out toward the great truths of the Gospel. They are children of God, like the Buddha, whom one may think of as a child of God who did not know his heavenly Father."

It was striking to watch how from one angle after another these generalizations were unconsciously underlined and verified by speakers on other religions. The handling of both Confucianism and Hinduism showed this, as well as the moving contribution made by Dr. A. W. Wilkie of the Gold Coast, who introduced an element altogether untouched in the preliminary papers, viz., the life of primitive peoples governed by animistic outlook and practices.

"Animism," he said, "is an attitude which recognizes that there are things beyond that which we can see and touch and handle, that there is a spirit in and through everything. It is not an 'ism,' but an attitude of life which has gripped every soul in the bush,—every woman by her sick child propitiating the evil spirits that were trying to take the child away,—it grips every fisherman upon the sea, every farmer sowing his crop. It is a way of life that has brought terrible fear."

Dr. Wilkie concluded:

"Jesus Christ has answered the needs of this people. As a result the African has something great to teach us. I always think of Africa in connection with Jesus Christ when His

disciples were wrangling about who should be the greatest. He did not rebuke them, but he set a little child in their midst, and said, 'Except ye become as little children ye cannot see the Kingdom of God.' That is what our African brothers are teaching us, the simplicity of the faith of little children. Our African brothers have learnt the mind of Christ as we have never done. I think of such men as Aggrey, Moton, Hope, Max Yergan, who have ruled hate out of their lives. I am ashamed to the dust when I meet them. They have every reason for hatred and resentment, but they have taken up the cross not with glum but with smiling faces."

Confucianism as a system formulated by Confucius out of the religio-political tradition and the moral code of the Chinese, was shown to be only incidentally religious, and to have won its supremacy in China by its intrinsic moral values. "There is no quarrel," claimed Professor Francis Wei, "between Confucianism and Christianity when Confucianism emphasizes the moral order of the universe in which man is an organic part; nor when it teaches that man is social by nature and attains fulness of life when harmonious within himself, with his fellowmen and with nature; nor when Confucianism makes social service the consummation of the education of character. Christianity will in these respects not destroy but fulfil Confucianism, by giving to its morality both a world basis (instead of one based merely on the clan and the nation) and a new soul by substituting the living God for its impersonal, naturalistic, or, at best, pantheistic philosophy.

"Finally, Christianity will give the Chinese a definite goal of the good life. Confucianism teaches its morality largely by examples, but they are either dim or fragmentary. What a change to the moral outlook of the Chinese if they grasp the supreme example of Jesus Christ, perfectly human and perfectly divine. The greatest virtue of the Confucian school is that of humanity, but humanity is only finally and supremely fulfilled in our Lord."

Professor T. C. Chao also showed with great force how Christianity makes distinctive contributions to Confucianism. First, by carrying the Confucian attitude to the sources of life (nature and ancestors), to its fulfilment in the revelation of God as the ultimate source, the final reality of the universe. Secondly, by showing God as all-powerful in that He suffers with human beings in their struggle against pain and sin, as revealed in the death of Christ—this we do not find at all in Confucian culture, yet it is most needed. Thirdly, by reason of the fact that, while there is a one-sided subjective and personal fellowship with Confucius, it is unreal and only fulfilled in the person of Christ who is ever-living and ever-loving. Fourthly, by supplementing the Confucian emphasis on the self-culture of the individual human being, who is the most valuable thing in the universe, an emphasis which finds no way to conserve this value except in that immortality by which we find a fulfilment of our life culture in Jesus Christ. And, lastly, by giving new meaning to the idea of universal brotherhood implicit in Confucianism but lacking power and foundation through realization of it in the person of Jesus Christ as a kingdom not only without, but in the heart and able to extend its boundaries to include all humanity.

Christ's fulfilment of the hunger of the human heart for the eternal and infinite expressed in every religion and especially in Islam in its emphasis on the life after death, gave Dr. S. M. Zwemer the basis for a great assertion of the supremacy of Christ in the sphere of the eternal destiny of the soul. Here, he asserted, is the very heart of the message—Jesus victor over death. Our Gospel for the Moslem concerns eternity and is therefore of infinite value. All our institutions, organizations, equipment, methods are only means to an end—scaffolding for the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. The Gospel of the resurrection is alike the token of our apostleship and the test of our sincerity in the world of Islam.

III

This idea of Christianity as fulfilling the genius of non-Christian faiths and as summing up in itself their values, (especially as this position had been suggested in some of the preliminary pamphlets issued in preparation for the Council) led to the fear of what Dr. Julius Richter called "the great and threatening wave of syncretism which is approaching all the world over. Many non-Christians are quite prepared to accept much Christian truth and to amalgamate it with their indigenous religion. This tendency is further strengthened by the so-called social gospel inviting all men of goodwill across the boundaries of the different religions to common warfare against the evils of the world. Indispensable and urgent though that warfare is, Christian missions are based on the great and absolutely unique acts of God for the redemption of mankind, particularly the sending of His only begotten Son, His death on the Cross for the atonement of the world, His resurrection as the beginning of a new God-given life for the redeemed race. Our message is to proclaim this unique redemption which has not and cannot have any parallel in the non-Christian religions. It is the urgent duty of the Church to stand decidedly and even stubbornly with both feet on this unique way of salvation proclaimed with one voice by the whole Bible."

The process of syncretism or of combining elements from different faiths into a mosaic had no defenders in the Council. But sympathetic appreciation of real values was everywhere advocated.

Dr. Stanley Jones, of *The Christ of the Indian Road,* made the distinction that syncretism combines, "selectism" picks and chooses, but life assimilates. The values in other faiths we must recognize if we are Christian. Christ, however, is absolute life itself. We need that certainty in His unique reality combined with a wide sympathy for value in other faiths.

On this whole issue a searching statement was made by Professor Hocking of Harvard:

"In philosophy one dreads eclecticism, a patchwork of ideas that do not belong together. I sympathize with those who hate syncretism in religion; mere syncretism has no charter of life in it. But there is a form of hospitality to the experience and thought of religions other than our own, which is not mere syncretism, and which is demanded by the new situation in the world of thought to-day.

"The new situation is brought about by the fact that there is a world philosophy which is spreading itself by no teaching or missionary effort, but by its own power as an accompaniment of industrial civilization. We may call it scientific materialism or naturalism. It appears as something opposed to all religions, but it is important to recognize that historically it is the offspring of Christianity. It comes from a freedom of thought for which Christianity has fought. Without free thought there can be no free men.

"The universal spread of this type of philosophy requires a new alignment of religious forces, a recognition of alliance with whatever is of the true substance of religion everywhere. We have to recognize, not only that this type of philosophy is becoming universal, but also that a world religion exists. We give religious systems separate names; but they are not separate, they are not closed globules. They merge in the universal human faith in the Divine Being. Unless this is recognized the problem is mis-stated.

"The thing feared in syncretism is a loss of personal identity. In making friends, we impart into ourselves something of the quality of the other person; yet it never occurs to us to fear loss of personal identity. So in appreciative contact with other religions Christianity need have no fear of loss of its own identity. And there are three further reasons which are requiring this openness to others systems.

"We must speak the language, and use the conceptions of other religions, in order to be understood.

"No man's religion is sound unless it is in some sense the religion of his fathers; he who worships needs to join his ancestors

in worship. Worship *of* ancestors is one thing; worship *with* ancestors is another, and may interpret the first.

"Our own conceptions of religious truth need to be enlarged and ripened.

"The Kingdom of Heaven is like leaven hidden in measures of meal. The leaven mixed with the meal can no longer be distinguished. It is 'hidden,' but there is no fear that its life will be lost. Let us hide religion in the measure of the world's meal, knowing that the result will be an enlarged and truer conception of their own religion. For religion, as a living thing, must continue to grow."

A contrasted note was struck by Canon Quick, who held that the uniqueness of Christianity had not been brought out in the preliminary papers in the way that its universality had been emphasized.

"The Christian Gospel is not one aspect of truth among others; it is based on a great act of God in Christ. Jesus Himself, and not just His teaching, is unique. Yet the Gospel, while unique, is also universal. Its light is so strong that it finds reflections everywhere. The Christian does not say, 'You have your truth and I have mine, we shall find a synthesis some day.' He says, 'I know in whom I have believed; therefore I recognize His work in non-Christian and secular systems.' Christianity always has built on the things that it found: Jesus used the Jewish conception of the Kingdom of God; St. Paul, the language of Hellenic religions; the early Fathers, Plato; the Schoolmen, Aristotle, and so on."

If, however, Christianity is one expression and the other faiths are other rationalizations of the same experience, if Christianity is simply a higher stage on the roads that other faiths are traveling, then missionary work is at an end. So Professor Heim declared. "The paradox that makes missions essential," he went on, "is that every man is a creation of God and therefore in relation to Him, yet although we are all sons, we are all prodigal sons and have left the Father's house. All the religions of the world are forms of the longing of the son

to go back to the Father. But they cannot till the Father comes to them to meet them and welcome them, as He does alone in the atonement and resurrection of His Son. This is the commanding message that makes missions essential."

In this emphasis on the uniqueness of Christ, no element in the whole discussion on the message struck a more penetrating and decisive note than the statement of women delegates on the distinctive contribution of Jesus Christ to the life of women. No other faith was quoted as having made any contribution to the life of woman, through the clear recognition of her personal, individual responsibility and immortal value. So direct are these and so cogent that it will be well to have the gist of two or three of them before us. The well-known founder and principal of the girls' school at Changsha, Miss P. S. Tseng, a direct descendant, by the way, of one of the greatest philosophic exponents of Confucius that China has known, put the matter in this way:

"Confucius made only two direct statements concerning women. One was: It is very difficult to keep company with women or small-minded men, because if one is too familiar with them, they lose their respect, if too far from them, they grumble. The other was a comment on what King Wu had said to the effect that he had ten persons to keep his Kingdom in order; Confucius said that these were only nine, because one of the ten was a woman. No wonder that Confucianism has affected the women in China not in a progressive way, but has rather set them back in three respects:

"In domestic life. The Chinese woman has no status in her own home according to the teachings of the Confucian school. At home she must obey her father, when married, her husband, and after the death of her husband, her son. She must sink her own personality into that of her men-folk.

"In social life. The Chinese woman has no social activities, and she does not take any interest in public affairs, because the Confucian scholars do not approve of women meddling with such things.

"In intellectual life. We have a proverb in China 'The ignorance of a woman is her virtue.' From this we can see that women have very little intellectual training.

"Perhaps one of the reasons why China is in her present state is because we have neglected our women for so long. No nation can rise above its women. We cannot have a strong nation physically or morally when half of its population is lagging behind and is ignorant of the great factors of life.

"The Confucian message, therefore, is not enough for China, because it touches only half of the nation. The Chinese women can find full life only in the message of Christ, who was born of a woman, revealed his Messiahship to a woman, and showed his glorified body after His resurrection to a woman. In Christ there is no distinction between men and women, and He has set the same moral standard for both sexes. Christ has given woman life, soul, and the way to come to God. In Christ the women of China will find their right position, not only as citizens of China, but as citizens of the Christian world."

Mrs. Ochimi Kubushiro of Japan said that in Japan no religion, native or imported, had ever given women the place of personality in its full and real sense in Japanese life except Christianity. The seed which Christianity has already sowed has begun to bear fruit in a fuller recognition of the worth of woman, but the larger fruitage is yet to be realized.

Miss Helen Kim of Korea said:

"The secular system of life in Korea, influenced largely by the teachings of Confucius, fully recognizes the instrumental value of women in the maintenance of homes and society. But only when the life and message of Christ were brought to Korea did the women find themselves to have intrinsic values. Christ has shown clearly both in His life and in His teachings that to God one human personality, whether it be man's or woman's, bond or freeman's, is just as valuable as any other. Christian young women, and men as well, of Korea have learned this lesson and are diligently seeking to apply this teaching consistently in their lives.

"When Christ taught the way of life to the Samaritan woman at the well He withheld no privileges and made no conditions as to her right to bear witness to Him. The same is true of His attitude to men and women of all classes. But His life and teachings seem to have been misrepresented since, perhaps unconsciously and in some cases with good intentions, and we find to-day certain conditions even in churches under Christ's name that make the vision of Christ a little blurred to the less discerning eyes of youth. For example, while Christ has never forbidden any to bear witness to Him, in some churches of to-day women are not allowed to preach in pulpits, not because they are lacking in ability or in zeal, but just because they are women.

"I think Christ would pity us women, if we still are timid and hesitant about bearing witness to Him in all the walks of life, not only in domestic life, but also in the industrial, commercial, political, and international life of humanity. I think He would say to us, 'Women, have not I freed you? Why are you still so timid? Go forth courageously with my message into all the phases of human life. They need you there, and there you have a distinct contribution to make at this stage of human society.'"

Alongside this witness to the unique gift of Christ to the life of woman came a stabbing reminder that the West, far as it had gone, had nevertheless really only begun to carry through into modern life the implications of the thought and practice of Jesus for women. Mrs. Robert E. Speer reminded the Council how the still living influence of the mediaeval Church in its teaching about women, the heritage of the Hedonistic philosophies of the remoter past, still affect our attitude towards women; while the issues raised by the industrial revolution and the post-war revaluation of morals call for a revision of our whole outlook in order to integrate the mind of Christ to the new life of women. To state the principle of freedom is not enough. That alone is dangerous to human society. A fresh study is called for, first of the mind of Christ as shown in the

Gospels and then of the personality of the Mother of our Lord. The realization was quickened and strengthened that the fullest possible recognition in thought and in policy of the central place of women in the whole Christian enterprise is in no sense simply in the interest of womanhood but of the whole race; for all progress, all acceptance of new truth, all moral habit and spiritual vision for every new generation are bound up inevitably with the women of each nation.

A burning, heart-searching beam was thrown from another angle on to the situation by Mr. Harold Grimshaw of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations at Geneva. He is concerned, as he put it, with those parts of the world to which Western Christendom is exporting secular civilization.

"What we are exporting, in the most efficient, persistent, and enthusiastic way are," he said, "precisely those elements in our secular civilization which have produced social injustice and the most widespread suffering. These evils we are introducing into places where there is no limit or check put on them either in the form of public opinion or governmental resistance.

"Take the case of forced labor. The worst instance that has come before my notice in recent years is," said Mr. Grimshaw, "one which illustrates dramatically what secular civilization may mean when communicated undiluted to primitive peoples. It was discussed in a European parliament in 1927. The question was put to the government responsible, 'Is it a fact that in one contingent of forced laborers ninety-four per cent. died?' The fact was not denied. The official reply was to the effect that this was true of one contingent only, that in other cases in the same area the death-rate was not more than forty per cent. or fifty per cent. The most disquieting thing in this story is that its publication in the parliamentary debates led to no comment in the press of the country concerned.

"Our African brothers are held under the rod of exploitation, that characteristic element of secular civilization which should have been held back by Christian hands. Has then the Christian life and message nothing to offer to the suffering

humanity of India, Africa, and China? I have little interest in the tendencies of psychology and philosophy which it is stated are now leading men back to God. I have not time to wait for those tendencies to percolate through to the merchant, the employer, and the administrator. I appeal to those who know what exploitation means, for they have seen it but are silent about it.

"I well know that certain of the workers in the mission field have been among the first to denounce such evils, but recently I have been driven to ask whether condonation has been extended even to such cases as the one I have given. Not a word on that have I heard from outside.

"In the great task of remedying social injustice, the International Labor Office can do the preparatory and technical work: it can study and analyze and prepare reports. But its work will remain ineffective without the support of public opinion. I must turn to you, to the workers in the mission field and to those who are directing its operations from the home base, who feel as keenly and as bitterly as I feel. You must speak, you must create that public opinion which alone makes progressive action possible. 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?' "

This tragic lack of conformity between the life and message, the message proclaimed by missionaries and the civilization of the people who proclaim it, certainly gives us, as Bishop McConnell declared, little to be complacent about. "We in the West," he said, "are largely pagan. We follow strange gods of nationalism and are moved by a militaristic ideal which is practical atheism, while even missionaries often closely adapt themselves to pagan social standards."

We must never again, as Dr. Anet of Belgium put it, tie up our presentation of the Gospel with one civilization—such as, for example, our Western European democratic system; nor with any one theological attitude. To give to the peoples the Gospel is our duty, but we must leave them to develop on the basis of it their own civilization and their own theological for-

mulation. This does not mean, however, that what we have to present is something vague. We are the messengers of the great Acts of God. That is the standard from which we start. The Gospel is given to us and is not something that we work out. Syncretism, the putting together of different elements from differing faiths and calling that the Christian religion, is in fact our greatest enemy.

This peril of failing to realize that in Christ we have final and absolute Truth (though our witness for Him fails to give Him in His fulness); the blunder of believing that we are all still searching for something not yet given to man raised the sharpest issue in the mind of the Council. It was concretely stated, for instance, when Provost Matti Tarkkanen of Finland challenged the position taken in some preliminary papers, especially in Mr. Kenneth Saunders's presentation of Buddhism, that the missionary enters into partnership with the people of Asia in a great spiritual quest. "The man who has found Christ," Mr. Tarkkanen said, "has not to join in a quest, but to witness his experience and teach what Jesus said—to do this to the Confucian Pharisee practising an external morality and to the Hindu seeking merit."

There are, however, as Mr. K. T. Paul and others reiterated, palpably things in the cultural life of Hinduism, a sublimity in Indian religious philosophy, a depth and sincerity of Indian religious life, which under the dominion of Christ would not be destroyed but fulfilled. The Indian student called upon to break with Hinduism for Christ is in a dilemma for he is called upon to break with a superb heritage that has spiritual reality in it. Mr. Paul sympathized with the impatience of St. Paul with the Judaizers who thought that they knew all about the mind of Christ when Paul himself had a vision of something far bigger and freer for the Gentile world. In India the work of Christ to-day is not only through the forces of organized Christianity, but in equally vital and more widespread measure through the forces outside organized Christianity.

What is needed, however, as Bishop Temple said in his

masterly summary, is not a new Christ, but Christ from a new point of view, such as the indigenous churches are bringing. It is not syncretism to find in other religions what is found in Christ; that is simply to reveal Him as the desire of all nations. Similarly the application of Christ's claims to commerce and industry and inter-racial relations is not a substitute for personal conversion, but an incentive to it; so that instead of secularizing religion we may spiritualize all life. "Jesus only" is the message, but Jesus, Saviour of the whole world, King of all life in every conceivable activity.

In all this complex situation a representative of the younger generation, Miss Crutchfield of the Student Christian Movement, presented the agonizing conflict in the mind of a student who, grasping the truth of life as seen in Jesus, finds that to live by it he or she must face the "losing of an eye or hand," "hating" his family, perhaps losing life. He is in a dilemma. If he is honest he must either modify his idea of God or live up to it. If he modifies it the zest of the life in Christ is gone. If he lives up to it he may lose his life. Jesus died to live up to it. He died but He lives again. Here is a thought that leaves one breathless with a new idea of God and the nature of life; that life is joining with God in "dangerous living" and dying to redeem the world by sharing God's gift of Christ with that part of the world in which one is living.

IV

The whole discussion of the Christian life and message in face of the need of the world has stirred the Council to the depths with a profound, desperate sense of dissatisfaction and a longing for a clear, comprehensive message, a new Christian world view of life. The impossible task of formulating such a message was committed to the appointed group. When, later on in the meetings, the word that had been given to that group in its strenuous fellowship was read to the whole Council, there grew on the spirit a tense sense of the greatness of the hour.

Here, every one felt, was something, bearing indeed the imperfections of human workmanship, but so far transcending the individual gifts of any mind in the Council, bringing a message so clear, so catholic, so reconciling and courageous, so far-sighted, and so living that it may confidently and gladly be hailed as a gift of God. To a reading of that message and a study of its implications we commend our readers.[1]

After a brief estimate of the background of need seen in the world to-day comes a short statement of Christian verities. "Against this background and in relation to it, we have to proclaim our message. Our message is Jesus Christ. He is the revelation of what God is and of what man through Him may become. In Him we come face to face with the ultimate reality of the universe; He makes known to us God as our Father, perfect and infinite in love and in righteousness; for in Him we find God incarnate, the final, yet ever-unfolding, revelation of the God in whom we live and move and have our being.

"We hold that through all that happens, in light and in darkness, God is working, ruling and over-ruling. Jesus Christ, in His life and through His death and resurrection, has disclosed to us the Father, the Supreme Reality, as Almighty Love, reconciling the world to Himself by the Cross, suffering with men in their struggle against sin and evil, bearing with them and for them the burden of sin, forgiving them as they, with forgiveness in their own hearts, turn to Him in repentance and faith, and creating humanity anew for an ever-growing, ever-enlarging, everlasting life.

"The vision of God in Christ brings and deepens the sense of sin and guilt. We are not worthy of His love; we have by our own fault opposed His holy will. Yet that same vision which brings the sense of guilt brings also the assurance of

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[1] See: "The Christian Message" (in *The World Mission of Christianity: Messages and Recommendations of the Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Council,* New York, 1928, pp. 7-16).

pardon, if only we yield ourselves in faith to the Spirit of Christ so that His redeeming love may avail to reconcile us to God.

"We reaffirm that God, as Jesus Christ has revealed Him, requires all His children, under all circumstances, at all times, and in all human relationships, to live in love and righteousness for His glory. By the resurrection of Christ and the gift of the Holy Spirit He offers His own power to men that they may be fellow workers with Him and urges them on to a life of adventure and self-sacrifice in preparation for the coming of His Kingdom in its fulness."

A quotation is then made from the formulation of the Christian message accepted at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order in 1927. A searching statement of the missionary motive follows, beginning with heart-stirring clauses and repudiation of all motives of using the missionary cause for any ulterior purposes of fastening any bondage, economic, political, or social on any people and rejecting any symptom of "religious imperialism" that would impose beliefs and practices or ecclesiastical forms and desiring that the younger churches "express the Gospel through their own genius and through forms suitable to their racial heritage."

"Our true and compelling motive," the Message goes on, "lies in the very nature of the God to whom we have given our hearts. Since He is love, His very nature is to share. Christ is the expression in time of the eternal self-giving of the Father. Coming into fellowship with Christ we find in ourselves an overmastering impulse to share Him with others. We are constrained by the love of Christ and by obedience to His last command. He Himself said, 'I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly,' and our experience corroborates it. He has become life to us. We would share that life.

"We are assured that Christ comes with an offer of life to men and to societies and to nations. We believe that in Him the shackles of moral evil and guilt are broken from human personality and that men are made free, and that such personal

freedom lies at the basis of the freeing of society from cramping custom and blighting social practices and political bondage, so that in Christ men and societies and nations may stand up free and complete.

"We find in Christ, and especially in His cross and resurrection, an inexhaustible source of power that makes us hope when there is no hope. We believe that through it men and societies and nations that have lost their moral nerve to live will be quickened into life.

"We have a pattern in our minds as to what form that life should take. We believe in a Christlike world. We know nothing better, we can be content with nothing less. We do not go to the nations called non-Christian, because they are the worst of the world and they alone are in need—we go because they are a part of the world and share with us in the same human need: the need of redemption from ourselves and from sin, the need to have life complete and abundant and to be re-made after this pattern of Christlikeness. We desire a world in which Christ will not be crucified but where His Spirit shall reign.

"We believe that men are made for Christ and cannot really live apart from Him. Our fathers were impressed with the horror that men should die without Christ—we share that horror; we are impressed also with the horror that men should live without Christ.

"Herein lies the Christian motive; it is simple. We cannot live without Christ and we cannot bear to think of men living without Him. We cannot be content to live in a world that is un-Christlike. We cannot be idle while the yearning of His heart for His brethren is unsatisfied.

"Since Christ is the motive, the end of Christian missions fits in with that motive. Its end is nothing less than the production of Christlike character, in individuals and societies and nations through faith in and fellowship with Christ the living Saviour, and through corporate sharing of life in a divine society."

The Message goes on in a deeply moving way to outline "the spirit of our endeavor" in a concrete penitence for not having fought anti-Christian evils, and concludes with a call to the world within the churches, without the churches, to the non-Christian world, to the world of science and art, to workers for industrial well-being and international peace. So it concludes:

"We are persuaded that we and all Christian people must seek a more heroic practice of the Gospel. It cannot be that our present complacency and moderation are a faithful expression of the mind of Christ, and of the meaning of His cross and resurrection in the midst of the wrong and want and sin of our modern world. As we contemplate the work with which Christ has charged His Church, we who are met here on the Mount of Olives, in sight of Calvary, would take up for ourselves and summon those from whom we came, and to whom we return, to take up with us the Cross of Christ, and all that for which it stands, and to go forth into the world to live in the fellowship of His sufferings and by the power of His resurrection, in hope and expectation of His glorious Kingdom."

Chapter IV

"HIS BODY, THE CHURCH"

"The fellowship of kindred souls" at Jerusalem was so natural and profound and happy that it was difficult to recall how real is the problem of "the relation of the older and the younger churches" in the field. The numbers of the representatives of the younger churches present at Jerusalem, however, gave in a degree never before even approached the personnel for arriving at far-reaching and really fundamental conclusions. The numbers of those representatives formed, nevertheless, the least powerful element in their contribution. Far more remarkable was the superb quality not only of their individual gifts and standing but of their corporate consciousness. They had not only thought about the problem, but had thought and lived their way into and through it.

Indian and African, Chinese and Filipino, Syrian, Malagasy and Singhalese, Burmese, Japanese, Korean, Mexican, and Brazilian; bishop and moderator, scholar and mystic, evangelist and doctor, educationist and ordinary church-member were there, with representatives also of the network of inter-church agencies and interdenominational and international organizations, like the World's Student Christian Federation, the World's Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, the World's Association for Promoting International Friendship among the Churches, and so on. Indeed, the Council in a unique degree included the diversity of gifts with the unity of spirit.

There were some twenty-four of us at Jerusalem who had also been at the Edinburgh Conference. To the writer at least,

for whom fellowship with Dr. Cheng Ching-yi at Edinburgh eighteen years ago was his first personal touch with the Church in the mission field—a touch which inspired from the outset a profound reverence for the spirit and admiration for the leadership of the Church—it was thrilling to hear him open the discussion at Jerusalem on the subject of the Church.

The similarities and the differences in this problem as it emerged at Edinburgh in 1910 and at Jerusalem in 1928 revealed on the one hand the permanent elements in the problem and on the other the astounding intermediate transformation.

What waters have rolled under the bridges for the churches in the mission field in the intervening years—the Great War, the post-war turmoil, the transformation of outlook through the vehement passions of self-determination, the trial in the fire of civil war in China, whirlpools and earthquakes of Swaraj in India. Dr. Cheng Ching-yi is an outstanding example of a leader who, living through all these "excursions and alarums," as a secretary of the National Christian Council in China, and as moderator of his own church, has kept a straight course on an even keel. A strong, calm, determined, able, and devout man, he has shown himself at once independent yet coöperative, nationalist, internationalist; closing no window through which light could come, but opening no door to violence or secular passion. Witness the balanced wisdom and uncompromising firmness of his speech at Jerusalem of which the following is the gist:

"An indigenous church is nothing more or less than a normal healthy growth of the Christian Church of which Jesus Christ is the supreme Head. The church does not exist for the sake of being indigenous. The Chinese group on board the ship arrived at this characterization: 'By an indigenous church we mean a Christian church that is best adapted to meet the religious needs of the Chinese people, most congenial to Chinese life and culture, and most effective in arousing in Chinese Christians the sense of responsibility.'

"By the non-Christian Chinese," he went on, "Christianity

is still regarded as a foreign religion. The desire of Chinese Christians universally is to make Christianity become regarded as a religion of the peoples of the East. We believe that the relationship between the Christian Church of the East and of the West must become direct with no intermediary organization of a 'mission' between. The place of the missionary will be important. He will have a permanent place, but it will be in the Chinese church and under the direction of the church, not in an outside organization. Of course, the development of the indigenous church is unequal; so this change cannot be made everywhere at once or at the same time. To make the church indigenous does not solve the problem. The church exists for the worship of God, for Christian fellowship, for training its members in spiritual and daily life, for active service for the good of our fellow men, and for propagating the Christian message. The need that the church should become indigenous is simply the need to become capable most efficiently to perform these functions."

Voluntary concessions from both sides, an attitude free from any anti-foreign or anti-missionary spirit, a spirit of rejoicing in the growing power of the younger churches, were elements in the attitude defined by Bishop Uzaki of Japan as essentials in any constructive solution of the problem. "Coöperation on a basis of equality is the foundation." His specific recommendations were that in church administration the missionary should function as helper and adviser, and should be a member of the indigenous church, working under its direction if in church work and under the authorities of whatever other institution he serves; the mission should persist as a field unit or organization to link with the Western church and deal with the personal matters of the missionary; but all initiative and direction of policies, as well as all supervision of work should rest in the church and its institutions, and the church should have the power to deal direct with mission boards.

From a vastly different field, Nigeria, the Negro Bishop Howells said that the right attitude was that of mother and

child, but there was something wrong if a mother had to look after the child all its life and it could never stand on its feet. The age of a church, however, could not be counted by years. The greatest needs now in Nigeria of help from the mission lay in (a) the best possible education of leadership; (b) the further development of work for the women and girls; (c) the finest possible example in living a good, noble, right life; and (d) the presentation of a simple, real Gospel.

The amazing variety of the conditions of life in the indigenous churches was further illustrated by Dr. Braga of Brazil, himself the moving spirit in developing one of the most effective of the many indigenous churches of Latin America and the presiding officer of the Montevideo Conference of the Christian forces of South America. He showed to the Council churches already rooted nationally, able under need to conduct their own life, but universally needing help, first and foremost in the training of the native minister who, few in numbers and inadequate in equipment, was being crushed under the burden.

A markedly different condition was diagnosed and cure prescribed by Mr. P. Ooman Philip, who was one of the formative personalities in the development of the movements towards creating the South India United Church, a secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon. He almost hoped for a cataclysm, a crisis that will "shake the Indian churches out of their all-too-complacent sense of dependence on the Western churches which works as a deadweight on even the oldest and best developed churches in India. What would happen if, through some revolution or disruption, the churches in India suddenly found themselves cut adrift from the churches of their origin in the West. The West must as rapidly as possible bring the great educational and training institutes under indigenous direction to lift the leaders out of the traditions of dependence. The Indian churches must prepare to shoulder all the responsibilities and tasks implied in being the body of Christ called to establish the Kingdom of God in India."

The Chairman of the Korean National Christian Council, the Reverend J. S. Ryang, declared roundly that the solution of the problem of a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating indigenous church has no element in it of diminishing the number of missionaries or institutions. "Send more of them both," he cried, "equipped for the work. So the Christian influences will be greater and the church have larger resources. A simplified form of church organization is needed to meet the rural and industrial depressed economic state of the farmers of Korea."

Young Sirwano Kulubya, Kitunzi (or Chief) in Uganda, princely in his long cream wool robe covered with a dark green cloak heavily bordered with gold, who had just come with his colleague in the deputation from Uganda, Bishop Willis, from the impressive celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the church's existence there from the first tragic days of persecution and martyrdom through marvellous developments of Christian character and service, showed how the church in Uganda with its local councils leading up to the synod, with the power in the hands of the native majority from the beginning, has—as he uncompromisingly put it—none of the problems described by the other churches. In the parliament of the people the great majority consists of native Christian chiefs. The British Government is very sympathetic. Nothing is done in the church without the consent of the people. The real needs of the Uganda church (which curiously parallel those stated for Nigeria) are for qualified Europeans to train native leaders and for women missionaries.

A novel and disconcerting aspect of the whole subject emerged in the picture painted by Señor H. T. Marroquín of Mexico, where, with two-thirds of the people full-blooded Indians, the word indigenous was, he maintained, no misnomer. Roman Catholic and Protestant alike in Mexico have been shaken by the constitutional requirement that all places of public worship are the property of the nation, and that all religious acts shall be performed in these churches. This has closed fifty

per cent. of the Protestant places of worship since they are private property, but has stung these churches into more vigorous life. The ambition of the churches in Mexico is a national vital unity within the Church Universal. In the vein of this last idea, the note was struck of inter-dependence of the older and younger churches rather than independence. The idea of independence denies the idea of the Body of Christ. And the ideal of the indigenous church is not simply to stand alone, but to witness, not just to feed its own flock and leave the missionary to evangelize.

Yet it was again clearly seen that the indigenous church must have that measure of independence and autonomy that shall lead it to frame its own customs, ceremonies, constitutions, and theology. Western help is just "a mat roof," as Dr. Knak of Germany well said, to be destroyed as soon as it can be replaced. "We await ardently," he continued, "a definite theology from China and India,—the work of the Holy Spirit there." "It is disappointing that the younger churches have not produced a single respectable new heresy," Bishop McConnell humorously lamented. It is just as true, however, that the younger church cannot be the master of the conscience of the missionaries as it is that the missionary must not control the conscience of the younger church. The central place for continued collaboration, Dr. Knak declared, was not in the supervision by the missionary of the use of money; it lies in the training of the preacher.

Something deeper even than coöperation was called for by Dr. Franklin of the U. S. A., as an able missionary administrator who is carrying prophetic vision into heroic action: "We need partnership in the place of paternalism. We must have more mutual confidence. The younger churches have no greater faults to-day than had the church in Corinth, but St. Paul had confidence in that church. The Spirit of God moves as surely in Tokyo, Madras, or Bombay as in New York, London, or Berlin. The older churches will soon become beneficiaries of the gifts of the wise men of the East."

The growth of the indigenous church, indeed of the church everywhere, Miss Akle of Syria said, will always be cramped in so far as women are excluded from its activities. "It is a striking fact that Christ made His greatest revelation about God to a woman and of another race, and that it was a woman whom He commissioned to be the messenger of His resurrection. St. Paul would not say 'Let women be silent in the church' if he were living now. Woman ought to be free to tell the church what the Lord has done for her."

If in Egypt the new materialistic spirit of Western secularism is to be fought and the Gospel carried successfully to Moslems, the revival of the ancient Eastern churches, like the Coptic Church, traditionally believed to have been founded by St. Mark, was pleaded for by Sheikh Metry Dewairy, a plea which Hafez Effendi Daoud, himself a member of the ancient Coptic Orthodox Church, and a leader of the promising Friends of the Bible Movement among the youth of that ancient communion, reinforced.

No more strenuous thought was exercised at any point in the work of the Council than in the group that, after this discussion in open forum, was set to give form to its thought on "The Relations of the Older and the Younger Churches." The great initial advantage was that here for the first time leaders of the new and the older churches met on a world scale on equal terms and in virtually equal numbers, numbers sufficient to weave into the thought of the Council the experience and insight of virtually all the most important indigenous churches.

The Council and the group that was set to distil its thought on "The Relations of the Older and the Younger Churches" was a glorious foretaste of the solution of the very problem with which it was to grapple. In the Council itself we saw the nations bringing their glory into the Holy City, through the personnel of their elect leadership. Here, for the first time in history, selected and equipped leaders of the older and the younger churches met on a world scale on equal terms.

"When is a church indigenous?" was the primary enigma. The findings answer it in the following terms:

"A church, deeply rooted in God through Jesus Christ, an integral part of the Church Universal, may be said to be living and indigenous:

"1. When its interpretation of Christ and its expression in worship and service, in customs, and in art and architecture incorporate the worthy characteristics of the people, while conserving at the same time the heritage of the Church in all lands and in all ages.

"2. When through it the spirit of Jesus Christ influences all phases of life, bringing to His service all the potentialities of both men and women.

"3. When it actively shares its life with the nation in which it finds itself.

"4. When it is alert to the problems of the times and, as a spiritual force in the community, courageously and sympathetically makes its contribution to their solution.

"5. When it is kindled with the missionary ardor and the pioneering spirit."

The curious idea that the autonomy of the indigenous church would do away with the need for missionary service from the West was not only attacked from all sides by the leaders of the indigenous churches, but found reasoned expression in the findings, where it is said, among other things, that:

"From the older churches not only financial aid, but missionaries animated by the spirit of comradeship are still urgently needed and desired by the younger churches. This urgent need lies in strengthening and encouraging the younger churches in the training of their ministers and teachers; in their vast and complex task of Christian education; in the development of social service especially in rural communities and new industrial centers; and in evangelistic endeavor among unreached groups and classes and in new areas."

A thorough and illuminating examination of the spirit and organization on which financial self-support can be securely

built is eminently suited for concentrated discussion by churches and mission boards all over the world. One of the principles marks a considerable step in advance of the position reached generally at the time of the Edinburgh Conference. It is stated as follows:

"In general, the financial grants of the older churches should be given to and administered by the churches themselves, or agencies constituted by them.

"The terms of such aid should be mutually agreed upon and then the churches should be entirely free to administer the funds accepted on this basis."

The root problem of leadership is handled in a radical way.

"The very conception of an indigenous church outlined in this report means that the younger churches must come to a realization of their own deepest problems and greatest needs, and to a clear sense of the perplexities and challenges of life. They must discern for themselves the values, resources, and dynamic available in Christ, which will become for them a satisfying gospel and will necessarily express itself in Christian witness.

"Through such witness which is normal and inescapable when life is fresh, vigorous, and buoyant, men and women will emerge from among whom there will be discovered those best qualified to serve and guide the development of a responsible church.

"It is through some such way that God lays hold of His prophets and teachers."

The application of the ideal of indigenous leadership to the important field of literature is thus opened up:

"Indigenous talent freely exercised is necessary for the creation of literature for any people. It is to such writers that the churches must look for the literature that will be most helpful in the nurture of the religious life of their members and for the exposition of the Christian message which will appeal most effectively to their fellow nationals. It is the rising scholarship of the indigenous churches that must produce new versions of

the Holy Scriptures and take part in unfolding to the world their inexhaustible treasures."

The supreme experience of the Council, however, was that in its own life, not in theory or in findings, but in spirit and in truth it realized the ideal relationship of the older and the younger churches in which, as members of the Body of Christ, they share His love in a unity in which everything is forgotten save the joy of belonging to Him and to one another.

Chapter V

"OF ONE BLOOD"

The world menace of inter-racial friction and antagonisms constitutes the supreme concrete challenge to the Christian belief that all men are the children of God. The fact that the clash between the races is most of all due to the expansion of power of the white peoples drives the responsibility for a solution of this problem home remorselessly upon the missionary movement that is itself the creation of the same nations.

Perhaps the most startling and at the same time heartening thought that emerged as one contemplated the faces of the members of the Jerusalem Council was that here in this one group every considerable element in the world problem of inter-racial relations was represented. Indeed, it might truly be said that the Council was a picture simultaneously of the problem and of its solution.

As one came from the Council itself to the small Committee specially charged with writing recommendations on inter-racial relations, it was striking to discover there also personalities representing every main aspect of the race problem.

Here in the chair sat Bishop Uzaki of Japan, representing on the one hand as he sat alongside the Americans from the United States and Canada, and on the other side a Korean, two of the most crucial aspects of the problem around the Pacific basin. For the American representatives recalled the whole issue of immigration which has so inflamed feeling between Japan and the United States. Again, Mr. Cynn, a young and able Young Men's Christian Association national secretary

from Korea, a member of a subject people under the imperial rule of Japan, personified another aspect of the same problem.

The secretary of this inter-racial group was Mr. Max Yergan, conspicuous as the first Negro from the United States of America permitted by the British government to enter South Africa to work among African students, one who has won a remarkable confidence among British, Dutch, African, and Indian alike in South Africa, by the poise, the patience, and the persistent, persuasive power with which he is pressing forward the movement for uplifting his fellow Negroes and for developing inter-racial understanding in that most difficult field. Alongside him is President Hope of Atlanta, Georgia, U. S. A., who through his wise statesmanship, lofty spirit, and dignified presentation in life and thought of the cause of his brother Negro stands in the front rank of his own national life. Beside them is Mr. Murray, a leader in British South Africa, representing the constructive attitude of the European upon racial relationships in South Africa. Yonder is Bishop Beauchamp accompanied in one or two sessions, by special desire, by Dr. Cram, two men in positions of responsible leadership in the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America, which is so largely bound up with and influential in relation to the great body of Southern white opinion on racial attitudes toward the Negro there.

The writer, as a Briton, had, of course, his inevitable relationship with almost every race problem, being involved in the whole Pacific basin racial issue as represented by Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Hong Kong; the stupendous inter-racial issue involved in India; the most virulent form of race problem on the planet, that of South Africa; the inter-racial future of that stupendous area of Africa under British control which now stretches from Kenya across Uganda and Tanganyika to the Gold Coast and Nigeria; as well as the Jewish and Arab problems under the British Mandates in Palestine, Transjordania, Mesopotamia, and Iraq. Bishop Ferguson Davie of Singapore represented the specially complex issues of

Indonesia, one of the racial melting-pots of the world. A young Indian professor incarnated for the group the Indian aspect of the race problem reinforced as he was from time to time by the irenic yet uncompromising figure of Mr. K. T. Paul.

Dean Bocobo of the Philippine Islands brought sharply into focus the situation in the Pacific Ocean that most nearly resembles that of Britain in India. The mind of a Chinese professor again held steadily before the group the relationship of the newly self-conscious nationalism of Asia to the race problem as heading up in particular into the conflicts around the problem of extra-territoriality.

The fact that what is called the race problem is usually found to be largely, when we get down to its roots, a product of economic, industrial, cultural, psychological, and religious forces was demonstrated by the valuable participation of Mr. Harold Grimshaw of the International Labor Office at Geneva, Mr. R. H. Tawney of the London School of Economics, Professor Hocking, with his philosophical and psychological equipment, and other men of world-wide renown in their specific fields.

It will be seen from this incomplete picture of the group that even our small Findings Committee represented the great elements in the world's problem of inter-racial relations. In the Council as a whole not only were these elements represented, but a marvellous variety within each element, a variety of attitude, of outlook, of experience, and of type. We heard the prophetic, pioneering voice, followed by the solid, engineering, and organizing mind. Now we peered over a crater to see hot, rebellious, volcanic forces. Turning we caught a vision of disciplined and tempered patience. The continuous and vigorous discussions of this smaller group sometimes went on past midnight in the attempt to arrive at solutions which should achieve unity not by toning down, but by strengthening statement, and should be practical without losing prophetic vision and courage.

One of the most fascinating processes was to watch and to

share in the widening expansion of outlook of man after man, who, having arrived at the Council preoccupied and oppressed in spirit by the torment of his own local racial problem, became, as he saw the world-wide ramifications of the issue, simultaneously more deeply weighted with its enormous proportions, yet almost elated as he felt the pulse of our wonderful world fellowship dedicated to work for its solution.

In all the writer's experience, no discussion has ever more frankly lifted the lid of reality and looked more deeply into the seething cauldron. No nation's feelings were spared through lack of thoroughly straightforward speech, yet no one felt hurt, except in the healthful process of having conscience mightily shaken. For the spirit prevailing was that of sharing truth in order to arrive at a better day. Not only did the race problem emerge in the open forum of a session specially dedicated to it, but in several of the great evening statements such as those presented, for instance, by Dr. David Yui of China, Dr. Datta of India, Mr. Max Yergan and President Hope, Mr. R. H. Tawney, and others. Dr. Datta in a speech of an hour's length opened up with powerful and surgical frankness the subject of "What is Moving in the Heart of India?" He outlined the historical background of the present situation and then revealed the political, economic, and inter-religious, inter-communal Hindu-Moslem conflicts which in total make up the complicated and sensitive streams of thought and emotion in India to-day. Dr. David Yui of China in an even longer statement on the preceding night had laid bare with steady analysis the issues concealed within the chaos of contemporary China. He showed clearly how powerful nationalism is as a cause of inter-racial conflict, yet how it may be built into an international inter-racial brotherhood.

"I am a Chinese nationalist," said Dr. David Yui.

"I do not belong to any party.

"My loyalty to the Republic is second to none.

"I am an internationalist.

"I am a Christian.

"In my inner consciousness I find in this no occasion for compromise or for a conflict of loyalties, between being a nationalist and an internationalist, or between being a nationalist and a Christian."

He showed how the whole program of the new revolution in China is including its political unification, probably through a federation of autonomous units, its abrogation of unequal treaties and the substitution of new ones on an equal reciprocal basis, and the raising of the condition of the people, agricultural, industrial, and commercial; and how all depend for their successful and permanent accomplishment upon raising the moral, social, intellectual, and spiritual life, this last being the real corner-stone of the whole structure.

The contribution that the Christian movement can make to this growth is seen to be vital and essential; and Dr. Yui laid down in clear, unqualified terms the need for a sustained supply to China of the finest new missionaries, men and women ready to serve on an equal basis with Chinese associates under the Chinese Christian Movement, and the need of the continued financial coöperation of the West to create and sustain institutions, in ways that will not only not hinder the self-reliance of the Chinese, but will inspire them to increased sacrifice. God is all in all and is concerned in all life, political and economic as well as individual; and, concluded Dr. Yui, the greatest challenge that has ever faced the Christian forces in China is to lift its inner political and outer international life to so high a level that the new nation soon to be born will be a blessing to all the world.

President Hope, in a restrained and moving statement, said that he had no interest in blaming the people of the past or those who had made the present racial problem. "My interest," he said, "is in the people who come after me, my sons and their unborn children, the life of the victims and of the victimizers in the race relationships of the future. Neither the oppressor nor the oppressed escapes suffering; injustice is always bound to have serious moral reactions on those guilty of it. You can-

not anywhere maintain white civilization morally intact unless the Negro gets a fair deal. I believe in the possibility of progress toward a solution, though I am oppressed by the seriousness of the situation. I believe, however, in the possibilities of solution, first, because I downright believe in Jesus Christ; secondly, because I believe in the ultimate sense of justice of the white people; thirdly, because I believe in the Negro and his capacity, with his poise, his moderation, and his cheerful optimism, to face all difficulties and work out the problem from his side. The final hope, however, I repeat, is in the inexorable moving of the will of Jesus in the hearts of men."

Mr. Max Yergan, after surveying the way in which Western life has fastened itself upon Africa, penetrated it, and become ruthless in many of its pressures, followed President Hope in making an estimate of constructive forces.

"Conditions to-day," he said, "flagrantly violate the very essence of the teachings of our Master about the inviolability of personality, and give the sanction of the church to the pernicious doctrine of superior and inferior peoples. Nor have Christians come out in strong opposition to war; nor have they cried out with one voice against the exploitation of weaker peoples by the stronger.

"Four conditions must be met if we are to pay the cost:

"A broken and a contrite heart: a spirit of contrition for the guilt of our group as well as of ourselves;

"A clearer sense of our unity as sheep of the one Shepherd;

"A tolerance ready with great patience to bear one another's burdens; and

"A courageous dependence upon God."

Mr. Max Yergan called on the Council to commit itself fully to the belief in and practice of the sacredness and inviolability of personality as taught by Jesus and to the belief that this principle is applicable to the whole of man's life in all relationships, and to support the Christian forces and other bodies in their effort to realize it.

This definite plea became central to the discussion. Mr.

Grimshaw, of Geneva, for instance, reinforced the need for such a statement. He reminded the Council that Mr. Max Yergan, Principal Hope, and Dr. Jabavu spoke as men from whose hearts bitterness had been removed. In the hearts of millions of others, however, the bitterness remained, potent in making *foci* for insurrection, rebellion, and war. A central task of the Council was to help remove this.

Miss Tilak wholesomely brought the Council back from the mass outlook to the individual, personal, human, practical point of view. Every one of us, she pointed out, has in his own little corner of the world to solve the problem of relationship to the neighbors nearest us. We have to ask ourselves individually, "What is my attitude towards people of other races? Have I a real desire and do I make a real effort to know more about them? Am I definitely trying to enter into an understanding fellowship with individuals of other races?"

The hope of the situation was re-emphasized by Dr. W. W. Alexander who called for mutual confidence. "If the white people," he said, "can see the possibilities of the Negro in terms of the men who have spoken in the Council; if the colored leaders can have faith in the ability of the small minority of white people of goodwill ultimately to secure justice; and if both can work at the moral engineering necessary to effect a change and to harness dynamic forces to research, a solution may be reached."

The profoundly different racial situation prevailing in Latin America was presented succinctly by Mr. Tucker of Brazil who said that in his country they stood squarely by the principle of inter-marriage and allowed the free immigration and inter-mingling of all races; and that the races now coming to them were particularly free from race prejudice—for example, the Turkish, the Italian, and the Syrian,—while they had at least 75,000 Japanese living freely in their midst in a population of some 37,000,000 inhabitants.

No contrast could be sharper or more violent, even, than that between Brazil and South Africa. The situation in South

Africa, as Professor Jabavu, of Fort Hare, showed, rests on not only the Color Bar Act, but the whole Color Bar attitude and action that long preceded the legislation. No equality exists there for the African in Church or State; he is not only segregated as to the land he may occupy, but socially segregated as, for instance, on the trains (where, however, accommodation is provided), and is simply forbidden to board a tram at all in Pretoria; and no African can become a Member of Parliament. With only five to ten per cent. of the Negro population of 5,000,000 even moderately well educated and with a white population of only 1,500,000, the dominant feeling of white South Africa was one of fear and estrangement.

"In Africa," declared Dr. Zwemer, "the strength of Islam is a religious pride that transcends all race, and the weakness of Christianity is a racial pride that breaks up religion. Negroes are being won to Islam on the failure of Christianity to live up to the principles of its Founder on the race problem."

This position Dr. Richter of Berlin passionately reinforced, with an emphasis on the bitter sense of humiliation at racial discrimination within the Christian Church. On the other hand, Dr. W. H. Murray, of South Africa, threw into relief the strong body of sympathetic opinion that was exerting itself and seeking to influence legislation, a declaration re-emphasized by A. de Meuron, of Switzerland, who recorded the action, for instance, of practically all the churches and missionary societies in South Africa in sending a deputation led by the Archbishop of Cape Town to protest against the Color Bar Bill. They had failed, but at the same time they had saved the day for the Christian forces by making their explicit witness.

The fact that the Negro in Christian lands is made to eat, live, travel, and, what is most terrible, to worship separately is a travesty of Christianity, said Professor Ahmad-Shah, of India. There is only one solution: it is to recognize man as man on the basis of the worth of his personality. On the other hand, Mr. Horley, on the basis of thirty-four years in Malaysia, said that in the Straits Settlements, Indians, Malayans, Chinese,

Japanese, Eurasians, Englishmen, and Americans worshiped together in the English church, and the Chinese, Indians, Malayans and English sat together on the same Council to govern the country.

In framing the recommendations this group had in mind that the expression of moral indignation is natural and easy, and may be well justified, but that it has been expressed so often as to be unimpressive. What is really required, they felt, is first a statement of principles, then an analysis of the situation, and finally a sober, courageous, practicable, immediate program. Such a statement it attempted to frame through prolonged and intense labor which focused the life-long interest and the sacrificial experience of men and women of many races. To the study of these findings as a whole we commend our readers, and especially to a close examination of what elements the individual reader and the group of which he is a member can grapple with by way of immediate service.

The root principle laid down is expressed in the following terms:

"The Fatherhood of God and the sacredness of personality are vital truths revealed in Christ, which all Christian communities are bound to press into action in all the relationships of life. These truths are too often denied and defied in inter-racial relationships. Antagonism and suspicion, envy, greed, pride, and fear blight the growth among the races of mankind of 'the fruit of the Spirit, which is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.'

"Our Lord's thought and action, the teaching of His apostles, and the fact that the Church, as the Body of Christ, is a community transcending race, show that the different peoples are created by God to bring each its peculiar gift to His City, so that all may enhance its glory by the rich diversities of their varying contributions. The spirit which is eager to 'bear one another's burdens and thus fulfil the law of Christ' should permeate all inter-racial relationships. Any discrimination against human beings on the ground of race or color, any selfish ex-

ploitation and any oppression of man by man, is, therefore, a denial of the teaching of Jesus."

After humble confession has been made that the Christian churches are still far from realizing this principle in action, a constructive program of research and action is put forward based on an analysis of the world of race relationship under the headings of (a) the difficulties which arise where peoples differing in color or race live side by side, (b) those where the affairs of the people are administered by a governing class of another race, and (c) conditions of migration and colonization.

This is not the place to give in detail the recommendation of steps to be taken. To illustrate, however, how concrete the outlook of the group was, and how convinced it was of the origins of race friction in economic and political and other injustices, we may here quote that it is essential:

"1. To establish the utmost practicable equality in such matters as the right to enter and follow all occupations and professions, the right of freedom of movement, and other rights before civil and criminal law, and the obtaining and exercise of the functions of citizenship, subject always to such general legislation as, without discriminating between men on ground of color and race, may be necessary to maintain the social and economic standards of the community as a whole.

"2. To secure that the land and other natural resources of the country are not allocated between the races in a manner inconsistent with justice and with the rights of the indigenous peoples.

"3. To apply the Christian principle of brotherhood and equality in the eyes of God to matters of social relations and to the common life of the community."

A searching analysis was asked for of the social, political, cultural, psychological, biological, and religious factors that contribute to create the inter-racial antagonisms. New light also must be sought from the life and teachings of Jesus which have bearing upon this program, as well as from the teaching of the apostles and the nature of the Christian Church in itself.

Action was called for on the part not only of the International Missionary Council, but of national missionary or Christian councils and committees, as well as from the Christian forces everywhere, toward the following ends:

"1. To bring knowledge and Christian conviction to bear powerfully upon the shaping of individual conscience and public opinion which will be decisive in solving this problem.

"2. Continuously to keep the churches everywhere aware of the world-wide nature of the problem and of efforts toward its solution, and sensitive to their responsibility in relation to it; and in particular, to make this integral to the training of the missionary, and the education of the younger generation in the older and the younger churches.

"3. To cultivate in the home and the school, through books, periodicals, and speech, as well as through personal contact, that natural friendliness of children toward each other, without regard to race, which God has implanted in their hearts.

"4. To encourage the exchange of students and teachers of different countries in order to strengthen mutual understanding; and to influence all those engaged in education, as well as in the production of books, of films, and of the press.

"5. To develop the consciousness in every nation that the common courtesies of life are an elementary duty, whether in relation to members of other races who may be guests or fellow citizens in our own land, or in relation to the peoples whose countries we may visit. In lands where different races live side by side full participation in social, cultural, and above all religious inter-racial fellowship, and the development of personal friendship which it engenders are the natural expression of our common Christianity, and are obviously to be welcomed as a step towards world-wide understanding.

"6. The members of every race should be encouraged to express their missionary conviction in personal service, and measures which debar them from so doing are to be strongly condemned. The desire of the Negro Christians of America to witness for the Gospel in the homeland of their forefathers, as

well as in other fields, under such conditions as those defined in the Report on the Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa (held at Le Zoute in 1926), is a ground for profound satisfaction."

In separate resolutions the Jerusalem Meeting expressed its mind on two other issues that are closely related to this problem. The first called attention to the transformed conditions of the life and outlook of Jewry across the world to-day and drew attention to the presentation of the implications of this for Christendom as expressed in the Findings of the World Conferences at Budapest and Warsaw in 1927.[1] The second was a resolution in favor of the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, the eradication of those attitudes and practices that are at the root of war, and the development of peaceful methods of settling international differences.

Conviction was finally expressed with enthusiasm that the missionary enterprise itself, as an instrument of God for bringing into being among all races the Church of Christ, has it in its power to be the most creative force working for world-wide inter-racial unity. For ultimately our closest union with each other is our union with Him; and His commandments "Do unto others as ye would men should do unto you," and "That ye love one another even as I have loved you," if carried into practice in all relationships, would solve the problem, and rid the world of this stupendous menace.

All our work, therefore, must have as its conscious goal the fulfilment of Our Lord's prayer, "That they all may be one," and the realization of the triumph of His Kingdom when all peoples shall bring their glory into the City of God.

[1] See: *The Christian Approach to the Jew.* London: The Edinburgh House Press, 1927.

Chapter VI

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD"

I

"I went to the East to make money, not to make Christians," was the frank statement of an individual merchant. It might, however, in effect be used to describe the motive of the whole contemporary commercial exportation, not only of fabrics but of manufacturing methods and economic capitalism as a system, from the industrial West to the handicraftsmen and peasant-farmers of the East.

It is an honest motive. No one, however, who has seen the women and little children working in shifts up to twelve hours a day for a miserable pittance in the mills around Shanghai, or explored the dwellings of the industrial operators of Bombay, or investigated the slums of Kobe in Japan, or witnessed the corrosion of South Central African tribal life through the drawing of many hundreds of thousands of its youth from the tribe into the gold and diamond mines, can fail to see that the industrial revolution, which had its origins in the West, is working through its remorseless, mechanical processes moral, physical, and spiritual ruin to multitudes.

It does not aim at that effect. But to the uncontrolled profit-motive human beings are simply fodder. A Christian council, whose Master made the care of the depressed the very test of God's judgment of our lives, cannot regard the well-being of such human victims as alien to its purpose. Nothing more dramatically marks the new world of reality which the missionary forces are exploring and in which they are bound to

take a hand than the fact that this problem was right in the very center of the mind of the Council. The industrialization of the Orient and Africa was not taken up reluctantly and timidly under pressure, but whole-heartedly and with great determination, in the conviction that people charged with carrying the Gospel of the Good Samaritan to the ends of the earth would be betraying their Master if they did not throw every available element of time and energy into the saving of the victims and the redemption of the system.

To fight to prevent misery in Asia and Africa on the one hand, and to induce the witness of our civilization to be Christian on the other are essential to the enterprise.

If Christianity does stand, as the Message of Jerusalem declares, for the rule of Christ in all relationships of life, then we are bound to fight all exploitation and all the influences of human greed and callousness in the expanding industrialization of the Orient. We have to set example, to launch pioneer experiments, to amass scientific facts, and then make the facts known in order to shake conscience and stir to action. We have to do this not as the West for the East, or as the East against the West, but as one world-wide coöperative process. Nor must we confine ourselves, in Mr. Gandhi's way, simply to trying to put back the clock or to wave back the irresistible tides of mass production. We have to spiritualize and moralize industrial productivity so that, instead of exploiting humanity, it may serve the well-being of Asia and Asiatic and African people.

However great our goodwill may be, we can, however, never do effective work in this area apart from accurate knowledge of the actual facts and a strong grasp of scientific principles which underlie industrial development. It was this that made the presence at Jerusalem of Christian experts like Mr. R. H. Tawney, author of *The Acquisitive Society,* and Bishop McConnell, well-known in connection with the famous steel strike report, of such vital importance. The fact that the International Labor Office felt it to be essential to send Mr. Harold

Grimshaw, with his expert knowledge, illuminated the principle which must increasingly be recognized in practice, that there are great organizations, nominally secular, which certainly have a great part to play in association with the forces of Christianity towards establishing the Kingdom of God. One reason why Mr. Tawney, who has never been in the Orient, was none the less of the highest value in such a gathering was based upon the principle which he himself stated that the "social and ethical issues raised by industrial civilization are common to both East and West."

The process by which industrial Western civilization has expanded everywhere and permeated the world was succinctly put by Mr. Tawney:

"A century ago," he said, "industrialism was a British phenomenon; half a century ago it was European; to-day it is world-wide. An industrialized Europe requires raw materials for its industries, markets for its manufactures, and fields of investment for its surplus material. The Industrial Revolution in Europe, therefore, had as its inevitable counterpart the creation of a new system of economic relations outside it. It was not an accident but an historic necessity that the generation which followed 1870 and which saw the mobilization of European economic energy on a scale unknown in the past saw also the outburst of economic imperialism which marked the forty years before 1914.

"At the very moment when, in spite of its glittering external prosperity, industrial civilization is losing much of its moral authority in the countries which gave it birth, at the very moment when Europe is staggering under the misuse of its own material triumphs, and when men are seeking with ever-increasing insistence for a new synthesis which may make the fabric of economic civilization the servant, instead of the master, of the human spirit, that civilization is striding with unexampled rapidity to the conquest of countries unprepared for it by their history, where it is not a natural growth but an exotic importation; where restrictions imposed by the law, by public opinion,

and by the power of the State are frequently weak; and where the peculiar social stratification which it has produced in Europe and America is crossed and complicated by differences, not merely of class, but of race."

After brushing aside the delusion that avarice and economic oppression are modern discoveries or are the monopoly of the West, and after recognizing what a load of suffering modern civilization has lifted from the shoulders of mankind, he defined very sharply the whole issue which the Council and, indeed, the whole Christian Church has to face:

"The question whether the world outside Europe will travel the European economic road between dazzling material progress on the one hand and squalor and class-hatred on the other, or whether it will learn, as Europe has not yet learned, not only to conquer nature but to be the master of its own soul, seems to me to be among two or three of the most vital issues with which the next generation is faced."

In order to get quite clearly stated and accepted the reasons why an explicitly religious and Christian body must handle the issue, Mr. Tawney said:

"It is a religious question, because it is concerned with the conditions of spiritual growth and vitality, with the ethical relations between the individual and his fellows, with the conduct of human beings in society and the reactions of the social order upon the moral health of human beings.

"Christianity," he agreed, "is not a system of humanitarian ethics, nor is the Church an association for social reform; and a religion which is accepted for utilitarian reasons, however lofty the utilitarianism may be, is not a religion at all. But though there is truth in this emphasis on the individual, it is, at best, only a half-truth, and the half which it suppresses is precisely that, it seems to me, which it is most important for our generation to grasp.

"Surely, whatever else Christianity may be, it is at least a body of teaching which affirms that the nature of God and man is such that, only in so far as men endeavor to live their lives in

accordance with the principles expressed in the life and teaching of our Lord, can they expect to realize the highest values of which human beings are capable, and that, compared with that effort, all other things are of secondary importance.

"For drawing a sharp distinction between a change of heart and a change of the social order, and saying that the former must precede the latter, there does not seem to be any foundation either in the teaching of the New Testament, or in that of the Church at its most vigorous periods, or in reason. Because God's Kingdom is not of this world, it does not follow that this world is not part of His Kingdom. We must beware of the not uncommon fallacy of saying that what we desire is a change of heart, while meaning that what we do not desire is a change of anything else.

"Institutions, social organization, economic activity, property rights, international relations are," he said, "a crystallization of spiritual interests, preferences, appetites, and ideals. You cannot," he went on, "in practice maintain two incompatible standards of morality side by side. You cannot win the individual to a life of service and self-sacrifice if the social environment within which he is set is dominated by a ruthless economic egotism. You cannot at once preach the religion of Christianity and practice the religion of material success, which is the creed of a great part of the Western world and is the true competitor of Christianity for the allegiance of mankind.

"It is not a question of allowing economic to encroach on spiritual interests, but of dedicating man's struggle with nature, which is what, properly understood, his industry is, to the service of God, in order that it may no longer be a struggle with his fellow men. It is not a question of diluting the arduous claims of Christianity, but of asserting its right to conquer a new province. It is not a question of the Church's allying itself with this political party or that, but of its defining its own position and allowing political parties to adjust, as they think best, their own attitude to it."

"What," he went on to ask, "are the main principles upon which a Christian sociology is likely to rest?" His definition was as follows:

"That human personality is sacred, and that the materialist who sacrifices to economic interests the welfare of human beings, the health and development of children, and the freedom and responsibility which should be the right of men is an odious outrage on the image of God; that human industry should be a life of fellowship in service, not a struggle for self-advancement; that society has a corporate responsibility to use its power to secure for all its members the conditions of spiritual and physical well-being.

"Economic progress is not an end but a means; and rapid economic development in a society not prepared for it is not a blessing but a misfortune; and the naïve illusion that a society becomes more prosperous if its output of commodities increases, while the institutions which provide its moral stamina are undermined, will deceive no one who accepts the Christian view that material wealth is to be valued in so far as, and only in so far as, it assists and enriches the life of the spirit."

In conclusion, Mr. Tawney formulated the principle which the Council applied in its findings that "the churches are neglecting an essential part of their mission unless they foster the zeal for social righteousness, and disseminate the knowledge by which such zeal may be made effective. It must be their task, by reaffirming the social application of their own principles, to point the way to a society in which men may enjoy not only material comfort but spiritual peace, because they feel that their social institutions and industrial organization are the expression not merely of economic expediency or convenience but of justice."

We have here devoted considerable space to the single statement of these fundamental principles because, more than any other problem emerging before the Council, this issue is as difficult as it is novel as a central preoccupation of a world mis-

sionary organization, although a determination to grapple with it has been expressed from the very time of the foundation of the Council.

II

To attack the sincerity of individuals, or groups, said Bishop McConnell, is irrelevant, for we are all entangled together in the social and economic system. It is equally fatuous to set a social gospel in antagonism to an individual gospel. What we plead for is the extension of the power of Jesus to a larger area of life. It is equally true that while society does not exist apart from its individuals, individuals do act differently in groups, and the spirit of the group does help to create the individual standard. In our attempt to make a state of society in which individuals can attain saintliness we must first lay unremitting emphasis on human values; and secondly accept and act upon every new insight into the moral character of God and apply it to human life.

"How are we," he asked, "to make these human values concrete? It is not, of course, the business of the Church to tell industrial leaders how in detail to run industry, but it is its business to create a public opinion on the human values which the industrial world must heed. It is sound strategy to break the enemy at his strongest point. That point to-day is materialism. Let us then, in industry, attack the profit motive. By that is meant the sums left over when wages, earnings of management, interest, and risk have been met. Profit is that which does not represent real effort on the individual's part. The desire for profit, that is for something for nothing, is at the back of a great deal of the trouble all round the world. Mills in China, on which American capital gets 100 per cent. return, with machinery stripped of all its safety devices, no restriction on hours, wages, and conditions of labor meant that the profit motive was creating oppression through economic exploitation.

"Again the Christian Church must stand by its prophetic

voices. It is not an economic use of prophets to stone them. Too many of them have to go outside the church to carry on their work. A sweeping social conflagration fired by the present-day pulpit is not an immediate peril!

"To take a concrete example of prophetic need, some missionaries would be deported by the government authorities if they spoke out. If the time comes when missionaries feel they must take risks in speaking on economic situations in their fields, then the church and the mission boards must stand by them, share their peril, and find new fields for the missionaries if deported."

Bishop McConnell in thus carrying the principles laid down by Mr. Tawney into the region of practical missionary politics paved the way for the very concrete program presented in the elaborate and courageous recommendation.

Those findings, both on industrial and on rural conditions, begin with a clear statement of the relation of Christianity to the immediate problem in question. They recall for instance that Christ came that men might have life, and might have it abundantly. When He wept over Jerusalem, He lamented the spiritual ruin, not merely of an individual, but of a whole society. He chose as His apostles not the wise and learned, but men engaged in the ordinary occupations pursued in all ages by the mass of mankind. His teaching used as its vehicle illustrations drawn from the labor of the shepherd, the fisherman, the wage-earner, and the peasant. By the message of divine love revealed in the Incarnation the division between the spiritual and the material is overcome, and all human relations are transfigured. If His followers are to be faithful to their Master they must try all social and economic systems by the standard which He revealed. It is their task to seek, with the help of His spirit, to realize love with ever-increasing fulness, not merely in their own hearts, but in their social order, in their political relations, and in the daily transactions of the factory and the market-place.

An attempt is made to lay down three simple yet fundamental

criteria by which the Christian will test every social and economic system.

First, "Christ's teaching as to the sanctity of personality. The sanctity of personality is a fundamental idea of Christian teaching which is reiterated again and again in the New Testament. . . . Human beings, the New Testament teaches, are not instruments but ends. In the eyes of God all are of equal and infinite value.

Secondly, "Christ's teaching as to brotherhood. The teaching of the New Testament is that all men are brothers, because all men are children of one Father, and that they owe to each other the service which is the expression of their common sonship. The Christian ethic, therefore, would seem to preclude such struggle for gain or self-advancement as snatches opportunities for personal success at the expense of the community or of its weaker members, and the organization of economic life primarily with a view to the enrichment of individuals. . . .

Thirdly, "Christ's teaching as to corporate responsibility. . . . The Christian Church," say the findings, constitutes "a fellowship and society embracing all human relationships in which all are members one of another, and it is only in such a fellowship, the New Testament teaches, that men can bear the fruit of the Christian life. All forces, therefore, which destroy that fellowship—war, economic oppression, the selfish pursuit of profits, the neglect of the immature, the aged, the sick, or the weak—are definitely and necessarily in sharp contradiction with the spirit of Christianity. . . ."

A very searching note of penitence is sounded in a sentence in which the Council acknowledges "with shame and regret that the churches everywhere and the missionary enterprise, coming as it does out of an economic order dominated almost entirely by the profit motive (a motive which itself stands in need of Christian scrutiny), have not been so sensitive of those aspects of the Christian message as would have been necessary sensibly to mitigate the evils which advancing industrialization has brought in its train, and we believe that our failure in this

respect has been a positive hindrance—perhaps the gravest of such hindrances—to the power and extension of the missionary enterprise."

This is not the place to go in detail into the analysis made in the findings of the processes by which Christians can begin to envisage practical ways of improving the situation. Suggestions towards solution include the need that care be taken to watch the investment of capital in undeveloped areas so that it may work for the welfare of indigenous peoples; the call to influence governments in the direction of protection against economic and social injustice; the scrutiny by the League of Nations of public loans and their use; the liberation of private investments from carrying political control, and so on.

A carefully and ably formulated section deals with the crucial problem of forced labor, and all contracts of labor entered into by parliaments with workers of primitive races, for which careful principles have been laid down through the conferences of the International Labor Office and can be studied in their conventions and recommendations.

No other practical resolutions of immediate action by the International Missionary Council itself were so important as the one included in these findings which says that "the International Missionary Council regards it as of vital importance that Christian bodies, both in the mission field and in Europe and America, should be adequately equipped for formulating and applying the social teaching of Christianity to questions of social organization and of economic relations, by the establishment of an adequately staffed bureau of Social and Economic Research and Information, in connection with the International Missionary Council. Such a bureau should work in close contact with the workers and national Christian councils in the mission field, the corresponding bureau established as a result of the Stockholm Conference, the Departments of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association concerned with industrial and social problems, and the International Labor Office." The functions of

this Bureau should be to supply information on economic and social problems, to advise missionary organizations on economic problems and action, to arrange for joint action on unchristian conditions, and to aid missionary societies in numerous other ways. These functions, it is stated, should be performed with the aid of the regular staff of the Council.

In no area is the cost of courageous witness likely to be greater than in this of Christianizing the expansion of industry into Asia, Africa, and the Islands. Immense and powerful material interests are concerned, and to cross their path is a perilous enterprise. Yet within the industrial system are many men whose keenest desire it is, at any cost, to permeate and transform it through the leavening irresistible ferment of the spirit of Christ. To Christianize the impact of the whole economic contacts of West and East and the industrial order through which the life of the world is being changed would transform the whole situation, removing from the shoulders of the workers of the world an intolerable incubus, and clearing the road to the City of God of the greatest of all obstacles to the world expansion of Christianity.

Chapter VII

"THE GREEN PROLETARIAT"

I

No one who has traveled for weeks at a time through the vast hinterlands of China, the innumerable villages of India, the grazing lands and tribal gardens of Africa, the spreading rubber plantations of Indonesia, or the endless horizons of South American pampas and ranch can escape an overwhelming sense that ultimately human society rests on the shoulders of its farmers, the still unnumbered "green proletariat."

Bound up, then, with the universal problem of Christianizing the conditions of life of the workers of the world is this vast area of rural needs. We are here contemplating the spiritual and moral and physical well-being of 1,000,000,000 human beings—about two-thirds of the world's population—the farmers of the world, a conservative, stable group, living apart from the great currents of life. "Apart from the great currents of life" we say, yet those who are watching how the farmer all over the Western world is "listening in" in millions to wireless messages, reading the daily paper, and moving about by omnibus and motor bicycle, see that in the long run this "apartness" may well disappear.

The Council was more than fortunate in this respect in having available not only at Jerusalem throughout its deliberations, but in the preparation of its literature, the personal help of President K. L. Butterfield, now recognized as one of the small handful of real world authorities on this problem. In opening to the Council this fascinating subject President But-

terfield pointed out that, even in the words used at different times throughout the ages, like "rustic," "heathen," "peasant," as contrasted with the idea of urban or "urbane" folk, the tendency is revealed, either to neglect, to despise, or to exploit the tillers of the soil.

The problem is to make each rural community an integral yet individual fragment of the world community of the Kingdom of God. Bound up with this problem is, first of all, how to teach the peasant farmer to know the best use to be made of the soil itself, and of the plants and animals dependent upon it. That in itself is a Christian work. The soil is the gift of the Father; the use of it is our stewardship of His Gift. The feeding of the future generations of men depend on this issue. To have rural peace and prosperity there must be adequate economic return supporting the reasonable needs of life. There must be a continuous enrichment of life so that the folk of the furrow can participate in the major ends of the race. Economically it is simpler to settle the just proportion of reward for the farmer's service than is the case in industry.

If again, each little group or village be thought of as a tiny fragment of the Kingdom of God, think of the power of these multitudes Christianized and mobilized for international peace.

To these ends a type of rural education has to be developed adaptable all over the world which will not impose an urban process of education on a rustic population but will utilize the country environment in education. In that process the community idea must be dominant. Christian teachers and preachers must work together to create a rural civilization Christian to the core.

II

The startling fact that in villages in India the number of Christians in prison is increasing set Mr. K. T. Paul on the trail of the astonishing influence of the pressure of economic conditions on rural ethics. He found that when a man stole it was not perversity but economic stringency which led him, for

instance, to cattle-lifting for the sake of hides. In an effort to help the people a mission bought a large plot of land for them. This experiment in trying to raise the economic level of the people failed, however, and before long the land was all in the hands of the Hindu money-lender.

The time, therefore, has come in India, Mr. Paul believes, when a comprehensive business-like system of Christian rural education must be established on a well-thought-out policy. After all everything in India that is real is rooted in rural life. There conditions are determined by three main factors—dire poverty, terrible ignorance, and illiteracy. All over India peasants live not only in poverty, but in hopeless debt, with the resultant deplorable conditions of insufficient feeding, over-work, child labor, bad housing, foul water, and lack of sanitation. The reduced vitality, thus caused, results in loss of production, lower resistance to disease, lethargy, and depression. Similarly ignorance, a second factor, is the parent of disease, insanitation, bad food, the loss of elementary rights, failure to use marketing conditions, the fattening of quacks, the manipulations of money-lenders, the development of malnutrition, and litigation.

Dr. Lo, of China, expressed his sense of the revolutionary development going on in China in respect to the peasant farmers. Though conditions similar to those in India exist also in China this one drastic difference prevails, that in China the farmers have begun to organize in a temper of discontent. This is all the more striking because they have hitherto been amiable, industrious, and quiet. Now, however, they are emphatically claiming the right to a return for their work adequate to maintaining life on a reasonable basis. The Peasant Union Movement in China first arose for their protection against bandits and bandit soldiers. To-day it is fighting also for better conditions of life. One or two rules of membership are notable: for example that no one owning more than 100 acres of land is eligible; secondly, no Christian preachers or priests may join. This is significant as showing the suspicion of the peasant farmer against the church. The influence of the Union

is spreading widely. It has now almost an exclusively material attitude to life. A greater regard must be had for spiritual and moral values. The Christian forces of to-day must tackle in this connection three things—first, to inform themselves as to conditions; secondly, to make known, both by word and by practice, what the church itself really stands for, because at this stage the farmer is convinced that the church is anti-democratic; and thirdly, to establish links of understanding between farmers and the church, and between landlords and the peasant.

The tremendous burden of field work for women was emphasized by Deaconess Lambert of Fukien, China, who said that in her area most of the farm-workers are women. One very difficult element is that if they go into schools they become unfitted for the physical hardship of work. In such areas where, for example, eighty-five per cent. of the people work on the land there is a great need for specially adapted schools. She gave the example of a farmer with nothing to eat, his wife starving, his crops blighted, his silk worms in bad health. He went to the pastor for advice. The pastor knew nothing about agriculture and offered to pray for him. "Please do not pray for me," cried the peasant in alarm: "enough gods are angry with me already, I do not want the wrath of your God as well." Deaconess Lambert believes that the church could exercise a marvelous influence if there were sent out into rural areas pastors and teachers who knew how to rear pigs and chickens, grow fruit and vegetables, cultivate rice, and advise on the hygiene of children and adults, to teach the children of the soil to love and be thrilled by the wonders of the earth and the beauties of nature, and to teach them, by natural stages, to reverence Our Lord Jesus Christ.

This call for a new race of farmer missionaries, some aspects of which the Council found amusing, continuously made a deeper and deeper impression upon it as the discussion went on, an impression concretely dealt with in its recommendations.

Pastor Couve, of Paris, described the rural village evangelism of Western France with its traveling rural university, a group

of specialists going from village to village to widen the culture of the peasant and establish coöperative societies to their great benefit, both in the community life and economically.

Startling conditions were revealed by Professor Jabavu, who told of South Africa where, with eighty to ninety per cent. of the inhabitants on the land, there is a growing rural population and a diminishing amount of soil available because so much of the land has been taken by the white man. In a country subject to drought the population may increase to 100 black people to the square mile, and the negroes be thus forced into the mines by economic stress.

The perils created in the nature of discontent and rebellion arising out of rural suffering call to the Christian forces to exercise all the influence they have. Some churches, notably the Anglican, have been active in this connection, while the Joint Conferences of Students are developing inter-racial understanding in the new sense.

In considering the conditions of Africa further north and west, Mr. Pugh of the Congo described the rural conditions of the equatorial Africa in the hill country and the river lands where in hundreds of bush schools folk are grounded in the truths of the New Testament. Great improvement would be possible by training the bush teachers better; and by giving them a little elementary but useful knowledge of physiology, hygiene, and community citizenship. Many thousands of them can read, but they are confined to the pitiably few books which are available in their language.

In Korea, said Dr. Moffat, where the Japanese Government has complete control of all education including policy, curriculum, language and teaching qualifications, it is not possible for missions to take very free initiative in the matter of rural education. The churches have attacked usury and the evil effects of money-lending, but he felt that they were not ready to accept suggestions of transforming Bible study into social study.

Another difficulty in Korea, Mr. Cynn pointed out, was the fact that while eighty per cent. of the population is rural, the

education itself is largely for city life. Fortunately, the church itself in Korea is largely rural, and the Young Men's Christian Association, four years ago, adopted a new policy of traveling to villages and founding agricultural social clubs, and coöperative societies. The heart and soul of Japan is, Mr. Axling declared, in these rural areas. The 30,000,000 farmers of Japan, a half of the total population of the Empire, many of them living in remote hamlets send their children to school for six years, are wide awake socially and support politically the most potent and largest block in Parliament. These are almost entirely pagan and materialistic.

A vastly different situation in South America was described by Mr. Rodriguez of Argentina. Here are only three inhabitants to a square kilometer. The country is fostering immigration which comes especially from Southern Europe near to Asia. Agriculture is being helped vigorously by the national banks, by government training of agricultural teachers, by exhibitions of fruit and corn growing and cattle development, but here again little ministerial, pastoral work is done among these agricultural growing communities. The Christian forces must lay siege to the millions of young men and women who are organized in associations with cultural and educational programs. Taking the long view, they must besiege the whole life of these communities, drawing up and putting into practice a coöperative program supported by church and mission.

Dr. Jesse Jones, of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, well known for his powerful work on behalf of the adaptation of education to the needs of rural communities, pleaded for training leaders to develop education, supplying the special needs of the country folk in all areas. "Rural people," he put it, "are primarily human beings needing the fulness of life." It is hopeless to try to transfer urban arrangements of education to them because the conditions are so different. "The demands on the individual and the community are not of the same kind. Jesus, who lived right in the midst of a little people with little needs, laid the foundations of education of rural communities where the soil

and its products are the gifts of the Heavenly Father, and where men find the fulness of life in developing their communion with the Father and the soil that He has given."

Dr. Diffendorfer, speaking as a missionary administrator who has recently traveled among villages in India, Java, Sumatra, the Philippine Islands, and other parts of the Far East, asserted that his Board was increasingly putting the major part of its men, money, and time into rural fields. The danger is of emphasizing too much the need to get the church machinery going in the village, the holding of regular meetings that do not really register anything in the community life. He felt that in each area we need a national group developing the program suited for that country. Rural missionaries must be specially qualified and, if they are going to serve the community to the full, must get their training on the field. He did not by that mean a rural course in a city theological seminary. He meant a training institution in the country with the country round it. "Does such an institution exist in the whole of Asia? We need just as strongly a training school for nationals, pastors who are going into rural work, people who are ready to show by actual working with their hands the essential dignity of labor. Teachers in schools should be men who have gone through such a training. The rural pupil must be in the center of our teaching and he must be educated through teachers with a rural mind."

In every area the Christian forces should be to the fore in developing coöperation between the government and the missionary, commercial, and educational elements in the situation.

The application all over the world of the ideas in the Phelps-Stokes findings in the reports on *Education in Africa* was recommended.

The findings of the Council in relation to the rural problems support the view that the service demanded of the church in the East as in the West is to build a rural civilization that shall be Christian to the core. Obviously, in many countries, the need cannot be reached by missionary endeavor alone. It is necessary

to select centers and make in these an intensive form of demonstration that can be imitated by governments and other agencies.

The Christian church should claim the religious leadership of the community and all its agencies should be community-minded, help develop consciousness of community, encourage a sane community patriotism, seek to make of the community a true family of families. It should be the aim of the church to help correlate all forces in the fundamental and inclusive task of creating a real Kingdom of God in this natural human grouping that we call the community.

"The following are the main objectives in the effort to create and maintain the Christian character in rural communities:

"1. The development of Christian character, Christian fellowship, and Christian service.

"2. Healthful living in a healthy environment.

"3. The effective cultivation of the physical resources necessary to the food supply and the sound economic development of people in villages and in the open country.

"4. The improvement of family life through a knowledge of such home activities as the care of children, food, sleeping facilities, sanitation, and all that centers about the life of women and children.

"5. A social attitude toward neighbors which makes possible sincere coöperation despite obstacles of religion, nationality, race, color, or language.

"6. The constant re-creation of personality—physical, mental, and spiritual—which may be gained not only from a sound use of leisure time, but from an appreciation of the beautiful, the good, and the inspiring in nature and in humanity."

The agencies in building such a community must all be mobilized by the church for these purposes: the family and the home, as the conserver of the race, and the nursery of Christian character; the church and other religious organizations, as fellowship and example; the school in its relation to the training of children, youth, and adults under the direction of the best pedagogic science. Multitudes of voluntary organizations are

susceptible of being used for these purposes, as well as in the matter of coöperation with governments in their work of developing laws of administration and of protection and development.

After outlining the fundamental phase of education and its auxiliary affairs like literature the findings go on to define the need for the training of leadership drawn from the community itself, both salaried and voluntary. Catechists, rural pastors, and doctors, teachers, and indeed every kind of worker need a training direct and personal, in the conditions of rural life with knowledge helping to solve its problems, and alleviate its sufferings and prevent its evils. The necessity for specialized training is strongly emphasized, as well as the concentration upon the life of womanhood which is so powerful in creating and shaping life both in the home and in the field. No attempt is made to outline a single specific program to meet rural needs everywhere. The situation and stages of development differ too drastically in various countries for this to be practicable. The development of a warm interest in and knowledge of the advantages and beauty of rural life is of the first importance, as is also a sense of the dignity and mental and moral values of work with the hands on the soil and among animals. Attention is drawn to the remarkable extent to which Jesus based His teachings on these moral and spiritual values of the farmer's work, the stewardship of the soil, and the production of food to meet the basic needs of man.

Concrete suggestions are made as to the help that can be given by national Christian councils as well as by the International Missionary Council itself. Here, however, only the veriest beginnings have yet been developed. The influence of the use by these councils of those findings in bringing home the rural problem and its solution to the mission boards and churches in the field, and in the sending of missionaries and in the finding and the training of the personnel needed in this ideal of farmer missionary is of the first importance because many of

the enterprises are necessarily coöperative and contact is also required with secular organization.

To develop an adequate objective, to foster coöperation of missionary agencies, to outline concrete programs for the national area and local grouping, to help in ways of finding support and of guiding the selection, enlistment, and training of workers, an appeal is made to all boards, officials, missionaries, churches and, indeed, to all who love their fellow men, to assist in work where indeed this field of two-thirds of the human race is "white unto harvest."

Chapter VIII

THE ROAD OF LEARNING

I

A thrilling sense of adventure swept over the Council as it launched into the discussion of the subject on which, after all, the whole world process depends, that of religious education. The development of the whole personality of man everywhere as realizing the eternal purpose of the Infinite is as fascinating in its interest as it is overwhelming in its importance.

Two things among many make it supremely vital at this hour. The first is that the world is being stirred by progressive educational movements, by a new exploration of the human mind and of the possibilities of changing human nature—movements which it is incumbent upon the Christian leadership of the world to assess in order to adopt what is relevant to their purposes. Secondly, many governments and especially those responsible for subject peoples, are revising their thought and practice of education. No single generalization is adequate to cover the fresh experiments being made, for instance, in such differing areas as the British rule over tropical Africa with its insistence on the religious core of education, the Turkish government's discarding of Islam, the Chinese revision in the direction of the national secular system, and so on. So impressed was the Council with the bearing of these developments on the future that it has demanded an expert, thorough, and objective study of the relation of the principle of religious freedom to the rights of minorities under state systems of education.

What then is our problem on the educational side? It is, first, to apply to the teaching of the Christian religion those psychological laws and methods that are rightly applicable to all teaching. The second is to make the Christian religion an integral part of all education on the ground that education without religion is incomplete. As Professor Weigle put it in his opening statement on this subject, "Religion without education condemns itself to an unequal battle with the good as well as with the bad, because religion without education becomes ignorant and superstitious."

The third question then emerges: How can the churches the world over teach the Christian religion more effectively? The whole problem of bringing education and religion together is immensely complicated in the modern world by the fact that the State has assumed control over education, and often either ignores or is unable to handle the religious factor. We confront the tragic paradox that it is not the infidels or atheists, but the enthusiastic orthodox Christians who have forced the State into secularism by insisting that their own sectarianism is the religion that must be taught. So, as Dr. Weigle pointed out, we are condemned to the sectarianism of atheism. The State becomes the foster-mother of atheism and we have no religious freedom because we have no religion.

He drastically criticized the way in which we condemn youth for reacting perfectly naturally to the conditions we provide. "If," he said, "the older generation is motor-mad, jumping with jazz, radio-ragged, and hungry with lust, we may well expect the younger generation to go farther and faster than their elders on the same road. In the Sunday school we have been in danger of thinking that if we make children all over the world march in locked step, taking the same lesson at the same time, that is religious education. God forgive us! As a matter of fact the modern educational theory at its best lends itself as never before to realizing the Christian purpose. If education, as with Christ, has the personality of the pupil at the center of

the process, the teacher is the leader, interpreter, friend, and inspirer. Evangelism and religious education are not opposed, but are aspects of the same process."

II

Canon Raven carried this thought further in a brilliant and searching presentation of the teaching method of Jesus, the presentation which has been incorporated in the findings on Religious Education and, short as it is, would alone make that book [1] worth possessing. He pointed out how "Teacher" was Jesus' most familiar title, and "learner" the name given to His followers, and that in our Lord's method the contrast between teaching and preaching, education and evangelism, simply does not exist. His aim is always one and the same, that He may enable men to be so set free from self-regard, so filled with love for God and their fellows that they may themselves enter into the very life of the Eternal.

Three characteristics notes, said Canon Raven, mark the teaching of Jesus. They are:

"The note of life: He is concerned with the development of personality, and only with instruction as this serves the larger end. There is little of catechetical or dogmatic teaching, and scarcely more of direct information. He enlightens their minds rather by enlarging their outlook than by formal lessons, and His lessons are always such as to arouse interest and insight rather than to foreclose inquiry.

"The note of freedom. He never compels or forces upon His hearers what they have not ears to hear. With an infinite regard for them He offers a wealth of educational resources, leaving them free to assimilate or to reject. They are not to be satisfied with knowledge taken at second hand, but must respond for themselves to what He is constantly revealing.

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[1] *The World Mission of Christianity.* New York and London: International Missionary Council, 1928.

"The note of fellowship. His richest teaching is given within the community of His followers. They share with Him and together a way of life, in which not only by His lessons but by the intimate contacts of close intercourse and common pursuits their individualities are expanded. Education finds its goal not in a lonely perfection, but in the organic and organized life of human society."

In an illuminating passage Mr. Raven showed how the work of our Lord is graded on lines precisely parallel with the stages of personal development. From the early days when He delivered a message of infectious simplicity making the familiar life of the universe real to every child in contact with the Heavenly Father, He passed to the teaching method of the parable and the association of God's presence with the common events of life, linked with the "project" method of passing on what they have learned. He passed from the parable of the word to the supreme parable—Himself, to the hero-worship of comrade and leader, and thus to the realization of the place of service and suffering in life, developing through communion Christlike conduct and fellowship.

Dr. Eberhard of Germany took issue with modern pedagogy on the ground that it starts from man as the measure of reality, resulting in an idealistic religion based on Immanence. It does not show the vast Reality outside man which is God, or reveal the social man as dependent upon Him.

Mr. Chatterji brought from India a strong plea for the place of religion in the sphere of education. "Only so," he said, "can the problems of race, industry, and the Church be solved." In this connection we should recall that shortly before starting for the Conference many of the Indian members attended an All-India Conference on Religious Education, where the pamphlet prepared by Mr. J. H. Oldham and Dr. Weigle for the Jerusalem Council was the basic document of discussion. The long and elaborate memorandum produced as the result of this All-India Conference cannot here be discussed or even quoted for lack of space. It is, however, an eminent

example of the value that may be derived in many fields through calling together such a group, for it means that the churches in India have now a coherent idea of education, including not only findings on aim and method in relation to government, but curriculum and specialized attention to aspects like education in moral hygiene.

The distinction between education in the school and at home was brought out by the Baroness von Boetzelaer in a moving statement in which she emphasized especially the demand on the parent for swift, intuitive decisions covering problems of moral attitude and action. The touchstone of absolute sincerity was given by Mrs. Sibley who declared that we cannot teach that which we do not believe and which we do not do.

The immense opportunity that lay before the Council if it could so state the relation of education and religion as to grip the educational world and compel at once its respect for the attitude expressed and its attention to the whole issue of such a reasoned and cogent utterance as the findings claim to be was pressed on its attention by the Bishop of Salisbury. President Watson of Cairo, who re-emphasized the fact that this problem of religious education is the vital issue above all others, illustrated the thesis that, for instance in relation to Moslems, the thing taught is not real until it is acted, in a word that "projects" are of the first importance in Christian education in non-Christian lands.

"The peril of Europeanizing and Americanizing where we want to Christianize," was emphasized by Dr. Schlunk. "One part of our problem of Christian education," he said, "is to get our Christianity cleared from our commerce, politics, laws, and sins. In the early centuries Christianity fought the civilizations of Greece, Rome, and Assyria. Ever since the Middle Ages, Christianity has been allied with civilization and is in danger of being absorbed."

The courageous step taken by the British government in tropical Africa in stating explicitly that religion is central in all education, that religious instruction is to be given in all

schools, that the same care should be given to the preparation of the graded schemes of religious education as to other subjects was outlined and emphasized by Dr. A. W. Wilkie.

The strange failure of modern psychology to reckon with the child's need for authority and the incurably metaphysical character of the young mind was criticized by Professor Hocking who also emphasized the wickedness of robbing the child of the joy of discovery by pressing too much adult comment. He agreed that religious education of children is the concern of governments, pointing out that that being so, personnel is the ultimate problem. He trembled to think, for instance, of the teaching that would be given if suddenly the United States of America established religious education all over the land.

The discussion was carried from the school into the region of the church by Mrs. Parker Crane. "As an educational fellowship the church," she said, "should be a school of Christian education for adults." Again and again emphasis was laid on the need of education for experience rather than for intellectual apprehension or ecclesiastical conformity.

III

The findings of the group on religious education following this forum discussion set the example of our Lord as a teacher in the forefront. They then outlined, in a long statement worthy of the most close and careful examination by educationists as well as by religious leaders everywhere, this whole theory of the meaning and scope of education. To attempt to provide any brief outline of those findings here would be frustrate for they are already a highly concentrated statement of continuous and powerful argument. The whole document should be sought in the book of messages and recommendations already quoted many times. The statement goes on to outline the practical issues and in particular to focus attention upon the home, the community, schools and colleges, Sunday schools, the church, the application to social problems and missionary

work especially, the training of workers including missionaries and their supervision.

The eternal basis from which the whole process starts and the great goal that it has in view will be understood from the final statement.

"We would recapture, if we may, the vision of those ancient Fathers of the Church who saw the whole process of human history as the training of mankind by the tutelage of the educative Word of God. We would realize our task as part of the age-long and universal movement of the Spirit of God who first brought order out of chaos, whose presence is manifested in the onward march of life, from whom humanity derives its every aspiration after perfection, and who is the source and ground of all Christian achievement. We in Christ are the agents, and should be the pioneers through whom that world-wide work is accomplished and God's kingdom comes. The new concept of education, wrought out by a multitude of students laboring in many fields, constitutes, as we believe, a signal means and opportunity for the extension of that Kingdom. As such we would accept it for ourselves and commit it to the Church, recognizing that if we are to use it rightly it must be by the example and in the fellowship of Him who in bringing many sons into glory was made perfect by suffering, Him who in this holy place Himself learned obedience by the things that He suffered."

Chapter IX

REALIZING THE VISION

The time has now come to gather together into one comprehensive view the world outlook from Jerusalem that came to the Council in its fellowship of thought and vision; a world outlook not only over the present human scene but into the future. Let us try swiftly to catch a bird's-eye view of the whole situation.

Distributed over the world are men and women who have decided to hazard the one life they have on the belief that man, individually and corporately, can be transformed by the life-giving, enduring power of Christ, and that incomparably the most important work in the world is to share with all mankind the reality of God's gift in Him. Their confidence in doing this is based on their personal experience of Him, reinforced by that of the Christian community through the centuries. They do not stand alone as individuals, but are linked across the world in communities—in the churches, in national Christian councils, in mission boards, and so on. These organizations differ profoundly in policy, in type of thought, in method, and in presentation—but they are all built around this living Lord and on His teaching and His acts.

These men and women, however, are living in a world neither of optimistic illusion nor of pessimistic delusion. They want, on the one hand, to know the worst of what they have to face, as well as to know the wonder of the Power that works in them to bring in the Kingdom of God. Wishing to frame their policy and direct their work in alignment with the realities of the situation, they sent their trusted leaders to Jerusalem

to look very deeply and with intense concern into the post-war world. Those leaders watched the tides of materialism sweeping over the life of every people; they reacted to the restless throwing off of old controls and especially to the new outlook of youth and of Oriental womanhood; they felt the pulse of new class, national, and racial ambitions. The conviction grew that here is a new world coming into being.

In that new world, while human nature and its needs remain essentially the same, many of the old authorities over faith and conduct are being scrapped. As a result man on the whole recognizes no authentic guidance just when many exhausting new demands are made on his spiritual discipline and gift by the enormously-widened world of enjoyment, sensation, and achievement open to him, while simultaneously personality is shocked by the powerful mass-controls of commercial life and of class consciousness. So man is looking for new light; listening for a voice speaking some new word of leadership in terms that really meet his need. Science, material wealth, self-satisfaction, beauty, nationalism—these and many other voices are calling him. What in those voices is good and what evil? Man is baffled and bewildered; yet often eager to shape his life to the finest issues. It is in face of this whole world-situation that the Christian forces find themselves called upon to be the mouthpiece of a word of real leadership, just when, within themselves, they are hesitant and confused.

To get a world voice, to exercise a world influence, the Christian forces must share a world fellowship. The demand thus made for international coöperation is immediately obvious. The Council, therefore, concentrated creative thought on the processes by which the International Missionary Council might be equipped more adequately for the future. Since the material forces of the world, financial, political, and other, were organizing themselves increasingly on a unified world basis, it became clear that there is a strong need for an international missionary organization on a well developed plan. No enterprise is actually and manifestly more international in its make-up than that

of the world-wide expansion of Christianity. Many world situations involving missions—such as slavery, forced labor, opium, religionary freedom, etc.—can only be handled internationally. How can relations with other international organizations be handled adequately save by an international missionary body? The unity of ideal, of objective, and of spirit already existing across the world among Christians can at this stage not be expressed and their coöperative work for the expanding Christian mission cannot be organized save through an international organization.

A revised constitution was therefore wrought out by the Council in order to relate it more closely to this need. It reiterated its fundamental rule "that the only bodies entitled to determine missionary policy are the churches and missionary societies and boards representing the churches; and that the successful working of such a Council is wholly dependent on the gift from God of the spirit of fellowship and the desire to coöperate."

If all the twenty-five or more fully constituted national and area Christian councils accept the revised constitution, the International Missionary Council will embrace in its membership the following among other fields (in alphabetical order); Australia, Belgium, China, the Congo, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, India (with Burma and Ceylon), Japan, Korea, Latin America (with Brazil and Mexico), The Netherlands, Netherlands Indies, New Zealand, Norway, North America, the Philippines, South Africa, Sweden, and Switzerland, with the International Council for the area of western Asia and North Africa. Within these councils over 400 missionary societies and a large number of indigenous churches in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are represented. The older and the younger churches are on a parity for the first time.

The definition of the functions of the Council are of interest:

"1. To stimulate thinking and investigation on questions related to the mission and expansion of Christianity in all the

world, to enlist in the solution of these questions the best knowledge and experience to be found in all countries, and to make the results available for all who share in the missionary work of the churches.

"2. To help to coördinate the activities of the national missionary organizations and Christian councils of the different countries, and to bring about united action where necessary in missionary matters.

"3. Through common consultation to help to unite Christian public opinion in support of freedom of conscience and religion and of missionary liberty.

"4. To help to unite the Christian forces of the world in seeking justice in international and inter-racial relations.

"5. To be responsible for the publication of *The International Review of Missions* and such other publications as in the judgment of the Council may contribute to the study of missionary questions.

"6. To call a world missionary conference if and when this should be deemed desirable."

Those functions, stated in this official minute in general terms, take on a much richer significance when read in the light of the problems faced and the recommendations at which the Council arrived. The task of research, of interpretation, and of action involved in carrying into effect these visions and resolves in face of the problems of race, industry, and rural life; the presentation of the message, the development of relations between the older and the younger churches, and the harmonious growth of coöperation form an immense task demanding great gifts. Indeed, we have here no less a task than the mobilization of the missionary forces in face of the unequalled demands of this changing world situation.

With such a solemn mandate for guiding the united missionary forces of the Christian world, it is of first importance that the Council's officers be men and women capable of carrying efficiently the tasks with which they are entrusted. The load of responsibility upon its Chairman, Dr. John R. Mott, is

greater even than it was before Jerusalem. For instance, the Council unanimously and insistently appealed to him to re-arrange his multiform work if possible so that in the immediate years ahead he may devote major attention to the development of the world service of the Council. Rejoiced as the Council was to feel that Dr. Mott had heard in this a call of God to make these adjustments, it was still happier in being able to see for itself that he brings to the task the full vitality of his powers. The Council also has the good fortune to be able to put alongside Dr. A. L. Warnshuis's tried and trusted capacities as one of the secretaries of the Council, the new powers of the Reverend William Paton, who has, after service for the Student Christian Movement and the Indian National Young Men's Christian Association, passed through years of providential preparation as secretary to the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon, and comes to take up work as executive secretary to the Council. The affectionate and enthusiastic references to Mr. J. H. Oldham showed how delighted the Council is that it still has his genius available to concentrate upon certain particular and absorbing tasks of great moment that demand individual attention.

Such leadership, however able, would nevertheless be entirely inadequate unless the spirit of coöperation in the service of Christ dominated the Council and the councils and above all the churches that have brought them into being.

In the matter of unity the experience of the Council was wonderful. On all human reckoning, the Council ought repeatedly to have fallen to pieces. There were enough deep divergences in our interpretations of life and views as to vital elements in the Christian message, as to the values of other systems, as to our relation to expanding industrialism, as to fiercely divisive aspects of the inter-racial problem, as to the tangle of cross-currents involved in the relation of older and younger churches, as to the nature and processes of religious education and of evangelism, and so on, repeatedly to shatter the Council to fragments. No one, however, who has followed this record

can conceive that division was avoided by blinking reality or by evading difficult issues. Never has so representative a group looked more frankly and fairly at the realities that divide men.

This process of facing difficulties went on, indeed, from the beginning up to the very last hour of the last Council session, when, at midnight, with frayed nerves and exhausted by the strenuous sessions of a fortnight's labor, the Council met squarely the very thorny issue of the protection of missionaries. Here was a problem that goes right to the very root of the life and death question that has faced Christians in every century ever since Jesus stood before Pilate. It might have been expected at such an hour to break men to pieces. In face of suggestions from some quarters that the Council was too tired and that the thing must be left over, the Chairman interpreted the best mind of the group by saying that, on the contrary, late though it was, they had ample time and energy for dealing with so vital an issue before they broke up. In spite of the terrific continuous strain that had been placed on him night and day through the weeks, Dr. Mott's physique and nerve were more firm and calm and in command of the situation than ever at that last hour. Indeed some who have seen him presiding in many circumstances and places and under differing demands and tests felt that at the close of the Council he was revealing some of the finest chairmanship that he has ever achieved.

Thus the Council went ahead, and speeches were made at midnight on that final Saturday which lifted the whole issue to heights of immortal and lovely, because unconscious, heroism. One saw in those who had themselves lived through it, that in the last resort, the Christian missionary must always be prepared to stand in face of all peril, stark and unprotected, relying on two things along, the presence of Christ and the spirit of the people among whom he has been called to give his life.

Men were told in advance before coming to the Conference that there would be deep division between American and European theologies such as would make unity impossible; that the leaders of the younger churches would take issue with veterans

at the home base; that the aim of the Christian mission and the heart of the Christian message meant one thing to one and another to another, and that fundamental unity could not be found. Yet it is now a matter, not of vague hope, but of simple irrefutable fact that at Jerusalem these men and women, differing in race, in communion, in language, in attitude, in theology, in social outlook, and, in political aspiration, reached a unity, not tentative or hesitant but whole-hearted and living and confident, and spoke a message, not trembling or halting, but ringing and real, rooted in the verities of the past and reaching forward to the conquests of the future.

The more frankly, then, the Council faced difficulties and braved sources of division, the more triumphantly and, as it seemed, without effort, it soared above differences into a new region of unity. It did this, not by losing touch with reality but by finding a higher and more inclusive reality—the reality of its unity in the fellowship of Christ's body. And here we touch the greatest gift that came to the Council and that it has to pass on. The fact is that, great as was the significance of many of its findings, greater still was its realization that the solution of the problems confronted lies in living together and working together till they are solved. Many useful things were said about the relations of the older and the younger churches; but we of the older and the younger churches lived there together in such a fellowship of quest of the Kingdom that we positively forgot all about the problem of our relationship. In fact, there was no problem; we were together, heart and soul, for Christ's purposes; everything else was lost in that. So we might take problem after problem, e. g., of race, and show how the same thing was true. The superhuman, vitalizing reality of God's gift in the fellowship of Christ as a life-giving, unifying power controlled the Council. If it could so control us all always, our problems would be resolved. And undoubtedly the secret of it all lay in absorption, not in the quest of unity, but in the conquest of the world for Christ.

It was this consideration, this longing, that drove the Coun-

cil in the indescribably lovely fellowship of Easter Sunday to pray for revival, in ourselves and among Christians everywhere, the release of new spiritual force for the task that lies ahead.

It was in face of that task that all the findings were framed, and preëminently those upon the home base. Carefully and courageously framed programs of thought and action were wrought out, embracing the relationship of the ministry and the laity toward the needed missionary expansion as well as of a spacious and skilful process of missionary education, technically as well as spiritually sound in aim and in method, and including in particular an approach to the younger generation.[1]

So far, also, from the growth and increasing self-government of the younger churches suggesting a diminution of gift in life and substance from the older churches, it was clearly revealed that the truth lies precisely in the other direction.

Mr. K. T. Paul of India, at the very last session, drove this home with great force. "I want to say," he declared, "in the very clearest possible terms that the Church in India does want missionaries, as many as you can send." After naming examples of missionaries now in India who are making a great contribution and are loved and trusted universally, Mr. Paul concluded, "It is the missionary, the human being who lives and loves in the ordinary everyday life of Christ that is always welcome. We want missionaries, Christlike missionaries who will come and live among us and identify themselves with us, who will share with us all our joys and sorrows in the spirit of Christ."

A statement on this point was made by the whole Council: a statement that comes with the added force that the younger churches themselves are whole-heartedly associated with it.

"From the older churches financial aid and missionaries for almost every type of work are still urgently needed and will be required for many years to come. The call to occupy the unoc-

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[1] These findings are of special value to all workers in the Christian Church.

cupied areas in every country of the world, the urgent necessity for a great evangelistic advance, the establishment and strengthening of schools, colleges, training institutions, and other institutions of a specialized type, the provision of Christian literature of high quality and in great volume for the younger churches, the development and extension of Christian hospitals and other philanthropic agencies, the demand for an enlarged program in the realm of Christian education and for new experiments in the rural areas—these and other forward movements throughout the world call for a measure of sacrificial giving on the part of the older churches beyond anything that has characterized their life up to the present time."

The home base group also prefaced the statement with sentences that expressed the overwhelming conviction of the Council in words that we give here since they do not find a place in the volume of findings.

"Were it not," said the Council, "for the absolute conviction that the love of God, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit are available for the Church now as in first days of its expansion we would be appalled at the task before us. It is too great for us. But not too great for us working with God. We must have more of God for we know that our God-realization determines the limits of our power to project this saving movement into the soul of the nations. We must turn to God to find new power to meet this new day.

"We are impelled by a sense of urgency which can only be described as awful, to share with our churches at home and overseas the need which God has made known to us in this holy place. Through the common witness of representatives from many lands we have been led to realize that the unification of the world on the basis of an unchristian social and economic order is presenting the most powerful opposition to the Gospel that the Church has yet been called to meet. Moreover, many features in the life and witness of the so-called Christian nations, in particular, still offer an almost insuperable obstacle to

the acceptance by non-Christian races of the salvation which is in Christ Jesus.

"The renewal of the life of the Church by a fresh inflowing of the Holy Spirit is, therefore, not merely a desideratum: it is the supreme necessity. Unless the churches are willing for fresh spiritual resources to be released in and through them we shall fail God and fail to help the nations at the time when they most deeply need us.

"The International Missionary Council earnestly calls Christians everywhere to a new and deeper repentance; to a fresh reliance upon the power of prayer, and to an unmeasured offering of sacrificial service. We believe that the life of the Church can only be renewed so that its power may be commensurate with the task, if it resolutely seeks the first things and from all ecclesiastical concerns that deaden its witness, turns again to God. Many persons feel that it is only a united Church that can win the world and that our unhappy divisions constitute nothing less than a scandal, and all are agreed that our witness on the great spiritual and moral issues before us must be the unified witness of the Body of Christ demonstrating through each member the love and glory of God."

No one who heard will ever forget the Bishop of Salisbury's impassioned and kindling words, coming with vehement sincerity straight from his heart as he envisaged what might be if, individually and in groups throughout the world, we lived in a fellowship of prayer. In that spirit the Council dedicated itself and called its members to lay hold afresh of this mighty power. It shaped its aspiration in the following terms:

"If there is to be a new inflowing of the Holy Spirit into the lives of men and women then there must be a readiness and desire for renewal on their part together with preparedness to sacrifice time or any other precious thing in order that the right use may be made of the channels by which God mediates Himself. The age-long means of contact with God proved vital in Christian experience, and everywhere available for all, is prayer. We are conscious of the fact that it is the weak prayer

life of ourselves and other members of the Church which presents an obstacle to the action of the Holy Spirit in the revival for which we hope.

"We would therefore pledge ourselves to a more determined use of this means of grace and would call all Christian people to a new realization of the indispensibility of prayer for spiritual health and strength. In view of this deficiency in the practice of prayer, of the circumstances of individual and family life in our time and the increased pressure and speed of life generally, we urge that our churches should issue to their people a call to prayer. We suggest specifically that: people generally need and will welcome teaching which helps them to pray, and that such teaching might more frequently be given in the services of the church; that they desire to be taught not only 'prayers' but the art and practice of prayer, with methods and aids suitable to the conditions of everyday life; that the practice of family prayers should be encouraged in every possible way; that our churches generally should adopt a day of intercession for missionary work in its widest sense, at St. Andrewstide or some other appropriate season; that the spontaneous formation of prayer groups be encouraged along the lines of the Jerusalem Chamber Prayer Fellowship which has come into being through the 'World Call' Movement in the Church of England; that clergy and other missionary leaders everywhere keep before themselves and their fellow workers the true conception and proportion of prayer and intercession in relation to organizations of all kinds."

It was strongly felt that from the very outset this prayer must be specific and pointed. With that in view the Council committed itself and called the Churches everywhere to prayer:

"I. *For a Missionary Spirit*—That the Church may see the whole world's need of Christ and may be ready for any sacrifice in order to make Him known to all mankind.

"II. *For a Spirit of Prayer*—That Christian people may learn to pray as Christ prayed and taught His disciples to pray;

and that an ever-increasing number of interceders may be raised up until the whole Church is awakened to prayer.

"III. *For a Spirit of Sacrifice*—That the Church may be willing at whatever cost to follow and to bear witness to the way of Christ as she learns it.

"IV. *For a Spirit of Unity*—That the whole Church of Christ may desire and experience a new unity in Christ.

"V. *For the Gift of Interpretation*—That the Church may learn to preach the eternal Gospel by word and life in terms that the men and women of this age will understand.

"VI. *For Courageous Witness in Moral Questions*—That the witness of the Church in the moral questions of our day may truly reflect the mind of God and may be known and felt throughout the world.

"VII. *For a Spirit of Service*—That a great number of men and women may offer themselves unreservedly to do Christ's work at home and abroad in our generation.

"VIII. *For the Completion of Our Own Conversion*—For the removal of all hindrances in our own lives to the manifestation of God's redeeming love and power."

Once, Professor Braga of Brazil reminded the Council, a group of disciples of Jesus had stood gazing into the skies; but messengers from God had come telling them not to stay there but to go into the City, into Jerusalem, and there begin the work of redeeming the world.

So the members of the Council have gone back to their work. They have gone back to primitive African villages where the fetish rules by fear, where the industrial whirlpool drags the youth away into its engulfing waters, where crude alcohol from the West maddens and poisons and rots; but have gone back sure of new allies and certain of the Christ who has shown His power to lift the poorest and lowest to heroism and sainthood. They have plunged again into the chaos and confusion of China, the agony of a nation in the long pangs of rebirth; but in the perspectives of Jerusalem they have caught some vision of the patient, persistent Provi-

dence of God. They are swept once more by the confused cross-currents of Indian life, with its inter-communal clash and its political wrestling; but surer than ever, from the sheer experience at Jerusalem, that there are different paths from opposite sides up the steep slopes to a meeting place on the shining plateaus where God's City is built. They have returned to the modern Babylons of the West, Berlin and Paris, London and New York, Rio and Sydney, Cape Town and Toronto, and all the vivid, conquering, materialistic civilization for which they stand; but with a new, clearer picture of the nature of hostile forces in the world, a fresh alignment of battle that will inspire effort and instruct strategy.

All of them in all the continents see now and see together that there is no "home" and "foreign" in the mind of God, no geographically separated "home base" and "foreign mission field" in the thought of the Eternal; but one world inhabited by one humanity, all children of His, but not all knowing Him. His children in each of those nations are those who are happy in having dedicated their lives to do His will. As members of the churches of Christ, older and newer, Eastern and Western, as missionaries working far from the home of their birth, and as "nationals" witnessing to their fellow countrymen, they share and will spread a deep and ever-deepening sense of their real world oneness in Christ.

Things that have for many been on the outer circumference have become central. Problems, tasks that have seemed secular, like the life of the industrial and agricultural world, have taken on a new and a spiritual significance. All life is seen as sacramental, an instrument and organ of spiritual values and realities. Having entered in a generous spirit into the strivings, sufferings, and hopes of all mankind they have found fuller reasons for believing that Christ is able as the Son of the living God to cure the ills and save the lives of men everywhere.

A profoundly true prophecy was made by Dr. David Yui when he said in the last hour of the Council's fellowship that, great as have been the immediate results of the Meeting, its

significance in the days, months, and years to come will be far more important.

There is one sense in which that cannot but be true. For the reality and the momentum of the ideas liberated and the resolves made at Jerusalem are so living that they are bound to bear fruit. There is, however, another sense in which the question whether Jerusalem shall be simply a considerable landmark or shall be of such sublime significance that it shall make the beginning of a new era in the world movement of Christianity is still undecided. That question rests really with the readers of this book, men and women of many nations up and down this world who do see the world's need and do recognize something of what Christ wills to be and to do for the world, and whose whole-hearted allegiance to His work may cast the decisive weight into the balance.

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